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LECTURES ON PATAÑJALI'S MAHĀBHĀṢYA

VOL. I

BY

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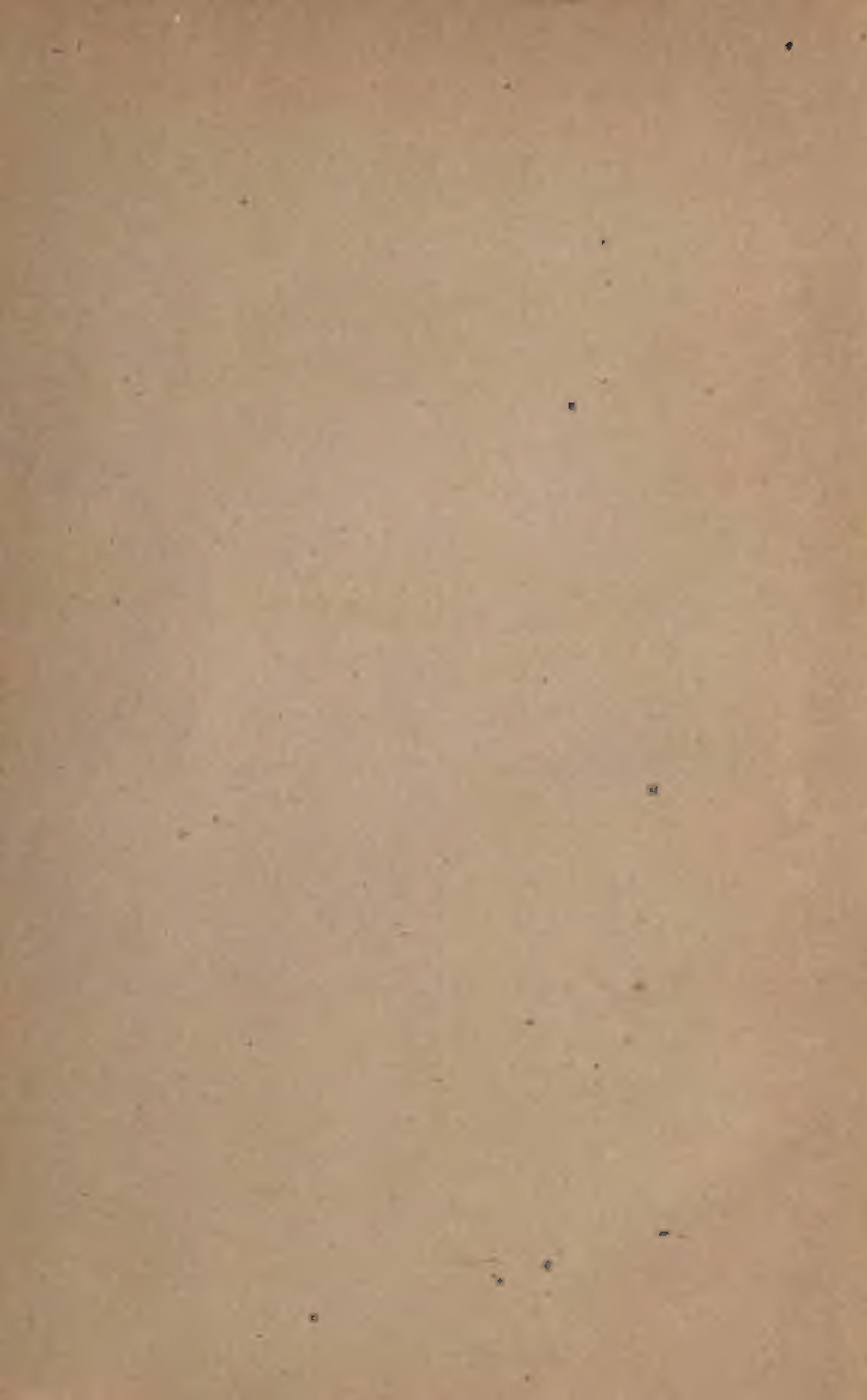
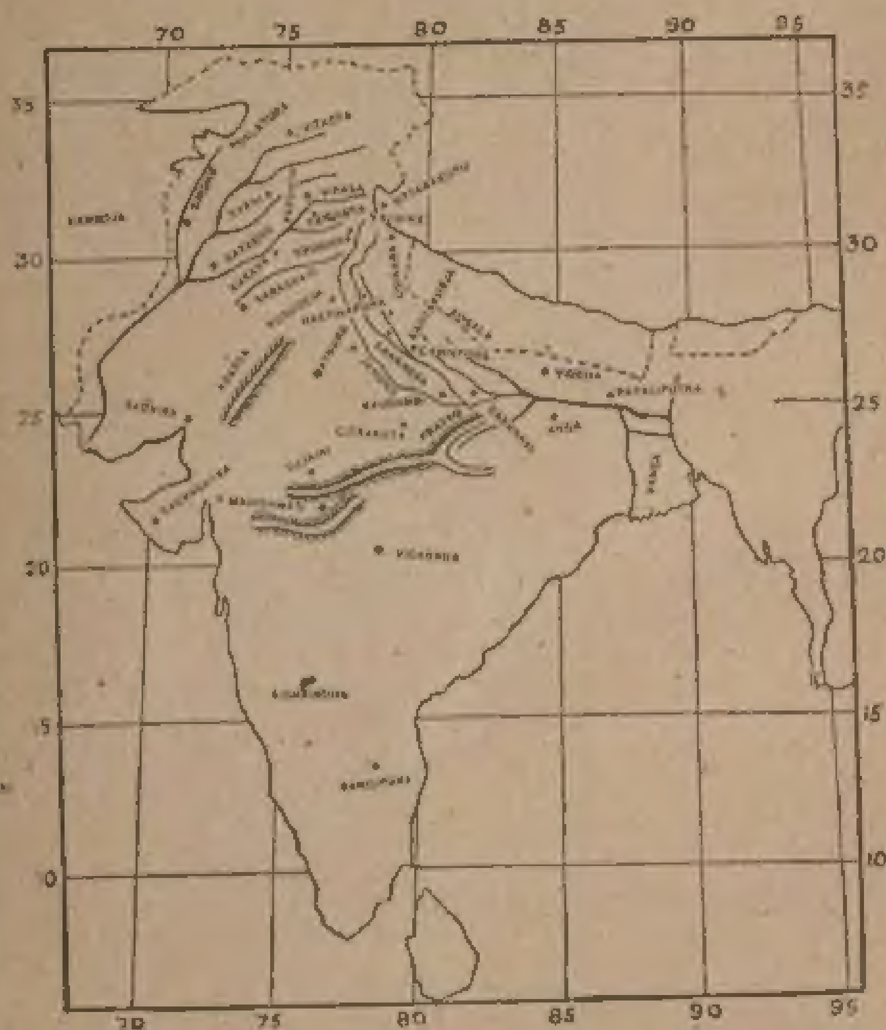
जयत्वण्णामलैविश्वविद्यास्थानमिदं सदा ।
जयतात्सांस्कृती विद्या सदा सर्वैस्समादृता ॥
जयत्वण्णामलैश्रेष्ठी राजासर्षिस्दाश्रितः ।
श्रेष्ठिराष्ट्रस्य राजासौ विद्यास्थानप्रपोषकः ॥



Tabular Statement showing the number of sûtras in each pāda of Aṣṭādhyāyi, the number of sûtras reviewed by Vārttikakāra or Vārttikakāras, Bhāṣyakafa etc.

Adhyāya in Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī	No of Pāda	No. of Sūtras	No. of sūtras with the vārttika of one Vārttikakāra and bhāṣya	No. of sūtras with the vārttika of more than one Vārttikakāra and bhāṣya	No. of sūtras wherein vārttikas are explanatory	No. of sūtras wherein vārttikas amend sūtras	No. of sūtras not deemed necessary by Vārttikakāra	No. of sūtras with bhāṣya alone	No. of sūtras not deemed necessary by Bhāṣyakāra	No. of sūtras wherein Bhāṣyakāra defend Sūtrakāra against Vārttikakāra	No. of ślokas in each pāda	No. of sūtras reviewed in each pāda
I	i	75	52	5	47	4	6	18		1	2+7	67
	ii	73	40		36	2	2	14	2	1	3	54
	iii	93	31	1	17	15		10		2	2	42
	iv	110	31		27	4		24	7	1	4	55
II	i	72	27		17	10		19		1	3	46
	ii	38	20		15	5		6			2	26
	iii	73	29	3	13	19		11		6	3	43
	iv	85	31	1	17	15		11		2	2	43
III	i	150	69	4	43	30		16		1	6	80
	ii	188	53	2	25	30		7		5	5	62
	iii	176	49		19	30		9			2	58
	iv	117	19		17	2		10			1	29
IV	i	176	66	1	36	30		21		6	4	87
	ii	145	35		17	18		20	3		2	55
	iii	168	34	1	24	11		6			2	41
	iv	144	12		6	6		7	1		1	19
V	i	136	47		24	23		12	1	1	2	59
	ii	140	42		15	27		20			2	62
	iii	119	33	1	20	14		13			2	47
	iv	160	25		10	15		11		1	1	36
VI	i	223	93	1	64	40		29	2	3	6	122
	ii	109	33		21	12		5			2	38
	iii	139	47		15	32		18			3	65
	iv	175	66	1	32	25		13			4	70
VII	i	103	30	1	20	11		27		1	2	58
	ii	118	36		29	7		22		1	2	58
	iii	120	37	1	16	22		11			2	49
	iv	97	24		12	12		8			1	32
VIII	i	74	24	2	19	7		7			2	33
	ii	108	42		22	20		12		1	2	54
	iii	119	35		11	24		10		2	2	54
	iv	68	27	1	13	15		8			1	36
Total	32	3981	1228	26	700	537	8	435	16	[illegible]	85	1089

MAP OF ANCIENT INDIA.



BIBLIOGRABHY AND ABBREVIATIONS

Ṛgvēda R. V.
Yajurvēda
Vājasanēyisaṃhitā V. S.
Sāmavēda
Atharvavēda A. V.
Śatapatha—Brāhmaṇa
Muṇḍakōpaniṣad
Mahābhārata—Śāntiparvan.
Uttararāmāyaṇa U. R.
Bāudhāyana Dharmasūtra B. D. Bōdh. Dharma.
Bāudhāyana Gṛhyasūtra
Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī P.
Pāṇinīya Śikṣā
Vyāḍi's Saṅgraha
Yāska's Nirukta N.
Jāiminīyasūtra
Tāittirīya Prātiśākhya
Kātyāyana Prātiśākhya
Tolkāppiyam (Tamil)
Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai (Tamil)
Gāutama's Nyāyabhāṣya
Mahābhāṣya M. B.
Chowkamba Edition
Keilhorn's Edition
Nirnaynsagar Edition
Yōgasūtra
Manudharmaśāstra M.
Sāmavēda Gṛhyapariśiṣṭa
Bhartṛhari's Pradīpikā
Do. Vākyapadīya
Amarakōśa
Yuan Chwang's Travels in India by Thomas Watters
A record of the Buddhist religion by Itsing and translated by Takakusu

Sphōṭasiddhi by Maṇḍana Miśra

Vākyapadīya's Commentary by Puṇyarāja

[illegible]

Kaiyaṭa's Pradīpa

Annambhaṭṭa's Uddyōtana

Sāyaṇācārya's Ṛgvēdabhāṣya

Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa (Kannada)

Siddhānta Kaumudī } by Bhaṭṭōji Dīkṣit
Manōramā } by Bhaṭṭōji Dīkṣit
Śabdakaustubha } by Bhaṭṭōji Dīkṣit

Rāmabhadra Dīkṣit's Patañjalicarita

Uddyōta } by Nāgōjibhaṭṭa
Laghumañjūṣā } by Nāgōjibhaṭṭa

Abhidhānacintāmaṇi

Śabdakalpadruma

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The Structure of the Aṣṭādhyāyī by Pawate

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Pāṇini and the Vēda by Paul Thieme

Pāṇini and the Vēda by A. B. Keith (Indian Culture Vol. II)

Thieme and Pāṇini by Batakrishna Ghosh (ibid Vol. IV)

	Page
Tabular Statement showing the number of sūtras etc.	i
Ancient India Map	ii
Bibliography and abbreviation	iii—iv
Contents	v—viii
Foreword	ix—x
Homage to Ācāryas	xi
Patanjali in the presence of Lord Naṭarāja	xii
Preface	xiii—lxv
Pāṇini	xiii—xxxii
Pāṇini's birthplace	xiv
Was Pāṇini the author of Gaṇapāṭha?	xxi
Was Pāṇini the author of Dhātupāṭha?	xxiii
Was Pāṇini the author of Uṇādi or not?	xxv
Was Pāṇini aware of the existence of Atharvaveda?	xxv
Pāṇini's knowledge of the classification of the Vedas into Mantra and Brāhmaṇa and the the existence of Kalpasūtras etc.	xxvii
The plan, the principle of composition etc. in the Aṣṭādhyāyī etc.	xxxi
His other work	xxxii
Kātyāyana—Vararuci	xxxiii—xliv
Relationship of Vārttikas to Pāṇini's sūtras	xxxiii
Kātyāyana was later than Pāṇini	xxxv
Kātyāyana's birth place etc.	xxxviii
Merits of Kātyāyana	xl

PAGE

	Page
Patañjali ..	xliv—lxiv
His life ..	xliv
Patañjali's knowledge of medicine	lii
His wide knowledge of the world ..	liii
The Nyayas and their applications ..	lvi
Framing and using paribhāṣās ..	lix
His having aware of the different dialects of Sanskrit ..	lxi
His recognition that Pāṇini's grammar deals with words found in all Vedas	lxii
Method adopted in writing Bhasya ..	lxiii
Dates of Patañjali, Kātyāyana and Pāṇini	lxiv
Introduction ..	1—5
Paspaśāhnika ..	6—86
i. The commencement of the Śastra ..	6—11
ii. The classification of words	11—15
iii. The definition of Śabda ..	16—20
iv. The use of the study of this Śāstra ..	20—44
v. The method to be adopted in expounding the Śāstra ..	44—48
vi. The Nityatva or the Kāryatva of Śabda	48—50
vii. The need for the Śāstra on account of its expounding that correct words are needed for dharma ..	50—72
viii. The meaning of the word Vyākaraṇa ..	72—79
ix. The need for making use of the pratyāhāra sūtras ..	79—86
Pratyahārāhnika	
I. अइउण्	
i. Vivṛtopadeśa in अ of अइउण् ..	87—90

PAGE

ii. Vṛttyupadeśa in अ of roots stems etc. . 90—94

iii. " in अ of the sūtras like अस्य च्वौ .. .. 94—104

II ऋऌक् .. .. 105—116

III. & IV. एओङ् ऐऔच्

i. To read एओङ् ऐऔच् or एत्ओत्ङ् ऐत् औत् च् 116—120

ii To read or not to read दीर्घ in sūtras which enjoin एच् as ēkādēśa .. 121—125

iii Whether such sounds as form part of diphthongs, long vowels, ṛ and ḷ and as are similar to others are to be taken as their limbs or not . 125—137

V. हयवरट्

i The need for reading ह् in two sutras .. 138—140

ii. Which is better हयवरट् or हरयवट् ? . 140—143

iii. Where are अयोगवाहs taken to be read ? 143—148

iv. Do letters have meaning or not ? 148—156

v. Why are not anubandhas in प्रत्याहार taken as अच् ? .. .. 157—159

vi. Why should semi-vowels be mentioned in the sutra अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः . 160—163

VI. लण् .. 163—171

VII. & VIII. ञमङणनम्, झभञ् .. 171—173

IX. Explanation of the ślōkavārttika अक्षरं न क्षरं विद्यात् .. .. 173—175

Vṛddhyahnika

I. वृद्धिरादैच्

i Why was not this sutra read as वृद्धिरादैक् ? 175—177

ii. Is वृद्धिरादैच् uddesya or आदैच् alone ? 177—180

iii Need for the adhikārasutra अथ संज्ञा at the beginning. .. .. 181—186

PAGE

iv. Is this sūtra saṃjñā-vidhāyaka or sādhutva-vidhāyaka ? .. 186—189

v. Of the two वृद्धि and आदैच् which is संज्ञा and which is संज्ञिन् ? .. 189—193

vi. अन्योन्याश्रयतावारणम् .. 193—195

vii. The need for the word प्रत्येकम् both in this sutra and the next . 195—197

viii. What is the need for तपरकरण in आत् of आदैच् ? .. . 197—202

II. इको गुणवृद्धी

i. The need for इकः in the sutra .. 203—207

ii. The need for the anuvṛtti of the words guṇa and vṛddhi from the previous sūtras. .. .. 208—211

iii. Whether this sutra and alôntyasya have the relationship of śēṣaśeṣitva . 212—217

iv. Whether this sutra and alôntyasya are in the relationship of utsargāpavāda . 212—217

v. Whether this sutra and alôntyasya are not at all connected with each other .. 217—220

vi. Wherever guṇa or vṛddhi is enjoined, the word इकः appears there .. 221—222

vii. What will be the harm if the word vṛddhi is not in this sūtra ? . 223

viii. Whether this sūtra is a vidhi sutra or a paribhāṣā 233

Corrigenda 237

Indexes 239

FOREWORD

BY

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of Oriental Studies in the Annamalai University*

MY friend Dr. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri, M.A., L.T., PH.D., has decided to confer upon me the pleasant and precious privilege of sponsoring, in a short foreword, these lectures in English on the first three *āhnikas* of *Srī Mahābhāṣya* by *Bhagavān Patañjali*. In exercising this privilege, I am happy to say that Dr. Subrahmanya Sastri has had the good fortune of studying the *Mahābhāṣya* under able teachers and has eagerly sought to acquire suitable opportunities for teaching the *Mahābhāṣya* through the medium of Sanskrit as well as English to Siromani students and to undergraduates studying for the Sanskrit Honours examination of the Annamalai University. A modern *belletrist* of the *Paramaikāntin* type in English and Sanskrit would prefer *Shakespeare* and *Kālidāsa* to the whole of the British Empire if he were asked to choose between the Empire and the works of these great poets. In India, the *Vaiyākaraṇa* tradition cherishes the oft repeated saying महाभाष्यं वा पठनीयम् महाराज्यं वा पालनीयम्. If a *privilege-calculus*, similar to the *Ānanda calculus* of the *Taittirīyōpaniṣad* should be worked out by *Vaiyākaraṇa* traditionists, they would give a scheme in which the opportunity to study and teach the *Mahābhāṣya* is on a par with Supreme Sovereignty in a political sense. Remembering all this, Dr. Subrahmanya Sastri has happily chosen portions of the *Mahābhāṣya* for

critical exposition through the medium of English in this work which is designed particularly to be of use to undergraduates studying for the Honours Degree examinations in Indian Universities. The exposition is critical and accurate as far as it goes and is lucid, easy and quite in conformity with traditional commentaries. A very useful and copious Introduction is prefixed to this work and Dr Sastri has used and reviewed all the available material of importance in the writings of several modern scholars—Dr. Kielhorn, Dr Bhandarkar, Dr Max-Muller, Dr Goldstücker, Dr Faddegon, Dr Thieme and Dr Pawate.

This work, which is now being published by Dr. P S. Subrahmanya Sastri, carries with it my prayerful wishes and hearty congratulations in the same way and to the same extent as many other works he has been producing and publishing of late in Sanskrit and in Tamil.

सरस्वती श्रुतिमहती महीयताम्

(Camp) Ganapatiagraharam
(via) Ayyampet,
Tanjore Dt., S. I. Ry.

S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI
6—6—43.

अष्टाध्यायीप्रणेतारं दाक्षीपुत्रं सुपाणिनिम् ।
वार्त्तिककारं वररुचिं भाष्यकारं पतञ्जलिम् ॥

चोक्कनाथं मखिवरं भाष्यरत्नावलीकृतम् ।
वेङ्कटाध्वरिणाशिष्यं रामभद्रगुरुं वरम् ॥

नीलकण्ठं यतिवरं क्षेत्रपालनिवासिनम् ।
अद्वैतमार्गनिष्णातं शब्दशास्त्रमहोदधिम् ॥

वैद्यनाथं द्विजं मित्रं मन्दरग्रामनिवासिनम् ।
शब्दशास्त्रप्रवक्तारं गीताद्यर्थप्रकाशकम् ॥

प्रणम्य तान् गुरून् सर्वान् प्रसन्नमनसाधुना ।
कुर्वे बालप्रभाख्या महाभाष्यविमर्शनम् ॥

PREFACE

Pāṇini, *Kātyāyana Vararuci* and *Patañjali* form the *Munitraya* in Sanskrit Grammar.

PĀṆINI

Patañjali observes that *Pāṇini* was the son of *Dākṣī*,[1] a great ancestor of the author of the *Saṅgraha*,[2] that *Kautsa* was his pupil[3] and he was known even to children.[4] He was recognised to be such a great grammarian as to receive the epithets *ācārya*, *bhagavān* and *sukṛt* from great scholars like *Kātyāyana*[5] and *Patañjali*.[6] The word पश्यति makes us infer that *Patañjali* considered him a *ṛṣi*.[7] Yuan Chwang,

1 *Cf.* सर्वे सर्वपदादेशा दाक्षीपुत्रस्य पाणिनेः (M. B. under दाधा घ्वदाप् I-1-20, and युष्मदस्मद्भ्यां ङसोऽश् VII-1-27.)

2 *Cf.* शोभना खलु दाक्षायणेन सङ्ग्रहस्य कृतिः (M. B. under उभयप्राप्तौ कर्मणि II-3-66.)

3 *Cf.* उपसेदिवान् कौत्सः पाणिनिम् (M. B. under भाषायां सदवसश्रुवः III-2-108.)

4 *Cf.* आकुमारं यशः पाणिनेः (M. B. under आङ् मर्यादावचने I-4-89.)

5 *Cf.* एकशेषनिर्देशात् . . . भगवतः पाणिनेः सिद्धम् (*Vārttika* under अ अ. VIII-4-68); आचार्याचार्यात् सञ्ज्ञासिद्धिः (id. under वृद्धिरादैच् I-1-1.) बहुव्रीहिस्वर शब्देन समासान्तविधेः सुकृत् (id. under बहुव्रीहौ प्रकृत्या पूर्वपदम् VI-2-1.)

6 प्रमाणभूत आचार्यः . . . सूत्राणि प्रणयति स्म (M. B. under वृद्धिरादैच् I-1-1.) तद्गुणसंविज्ञानाद्भगवतः पाणिनेराचार्यस्य (id. under एकाचो द्वे प्रथमस्य VI-1-1.) माङ्गलिक आचार्यः (id. under वृद्धिरादैच् I-1-1 and भूवादयो धातवः I-3-1.)

7 पश्यति त्वाचार्यः (id. under जनसनखनां सञ्झलोः VI-4-42 etc.)

the Chinese traveller, also calls him so.[1] I-tsing, another Chinese traveller, states thus: "The *sūtra* is the foundation of all grammatical science. It contains 1000 *ślokas*[2] and is the work of *Pāṇini*. Children begin to learn the *sūtra* when they are eight years old and can repeat it in eight months time."[3] *Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita* tells us that his father was a *ṛṣi* named *Paṇi*.[4] *Śabdakalpadruma* says that *Pāṇini* was recognised by other names also, *viz.*, *Āhika*, *Śalaṅki*, ***Pāṇina*** and ***Śālāturīya***.

PĀṆINI'S BIRTH-PLACE.

Yuan Chwang, the commentator on *Hemacandra's Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* and most of the modern scholars consider *Pāṇini* to be a native of *Śalātura*, a village near modern Attock in *Gāndhāra*. R. O. Franke thinks that he was born in the north (*Śalātura*), but had come to the east (*Pāṭaliputra*).[5] The author of the *Śabdakalpadruma*, however, says that his forefathers belonged to *Śalātura*[6] and he

1 The rishi applied himself earnestly to selecting from the stock of words and formed an etymology of 1000 stanzas each of 32 words. (On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India by Thomas Watters I pp. 221 and 222. *Words seem to be a wrong translation for syllables.*)

2 *Ślokas* refer to *granthas* with 32 syllables.

3 A record of the Buddhist religion by I-tsing p. 175 and translated by J. Takakusu.

4 पाणिनिः कश्चन्मुनिरस्ति पूर्वं स पाणिनः नाम कुमारमाप
स्वतुल्यनाम्ना तनयेन सोऽपि दाक्षीसुतश्च स्वमभ्यनन्दत् ॥ (*Patañjalicarita* I 47.)

5 *Pāṇini and the Veda* by Dr. Paul Thieme p. 76.

6 अथ पाणिनौ ।
शालातुरीयदाक्षेयौ . . . . ॥ (अभिधानचिन्तामणिः)
गान्धारप्रदेशविशेषशालातुरग्रामजातत्वादेवास्य तथा नाम इति अभिधानचिन्तामणिटीकायाम् ।
तूदीशलातुर . . . . (IV 3-94) सूत्रेण अभिजनार्थे एव छण् प्रत्ययः । अतः स्पष्टतः शालातुरप्रदेशः पाणिनेः पूर्वपुरुषाणां वासस्थानमित्येव अवगम्यते न तु तस्येति (शब्दकल्पद्रुम)
अथ निवासाभिजनयोः कः विशेषः ? निवासो नाम यत्र सम्प्रत्युष्यते । अभिजनो नाम यत्र पूर्वैरुषितम् (M. B. under S. IV-3-90.)

was not born there. If so, we have to determine his birth place. *Jaimini* and *Bhartṛhari* state that *Vyākaraṇa* is a *smṛti* written by *śiṣṭas*.[1] *Ācārya Pāṇini* was considered a *śiṣṭa* by *Patañjali* and his followers. *Śiṣṭas*, according to *Patañjali*, are those *brāhmaṇas* who resided in *Āryāvarta* bounded on the north by the Himalayas, on the south by *Pāriyātra* (a portion of the Vindhyas), on the east by *Kālakavana* (near Rajmahal hills in Bengal) and on the west by *Ādarśa* (Aravalli hills) and who were proficient in some *śāstra*, full of contentment, free from avarice, possessing high character and doing their duty without expecting any reward therefor धर्माभिनिवासिनः. Therefore it may not be wrong if we consider him to have lived in *Āryāvarta*. His mention of the eastern country in *sūtras* like एङ् प्राचां देशे (I 1 75), प्राचां नगरान्ते (VII 3 24), and of the northern country in *sūtras* like उदीच्यग्रामाच्च बह्वचोऽन्तोदात्तात् (IV 2 109), and his reference to the opinion of the eastern and northern schools in *sūtras* like शोणात्प्राचाम् (IV 1-43), मातरपितरावुदीचाम् (VI-3 32), may be taken as sufficient clue to his having lived in the *madhyadeśa* whose boundary is, according to *Manudharmaśāstra*, the Himalayas on the north, the Vindhyas on the south, *Prayāg* or Allahabad on the

1 साधुत्वज्ञानविषया सैषा व्याकरणस्मृतिः ।
अविच्छेदेन शिष्टानामिदं स्मृतिनिबन्धनम् ॥ (वाक्यपदीये I 143.)

2 के पुनः शिष्टाः ? . . . एव नहि निवासमन्तरेणाचारः । स चाचार आर्यावर्त एव । कः पुनरार्यावर्तः ? । प्रागादर्शात् प्रत्यक्कालकवनात् दक्षिणेन हिमवन्तम् उत्तरेण पारियात्रम् । एतस्मिन्नार्यनिवासे ये ब्राह्मणाः कुम्भीधान्या अलोलुपा अगृह्यमाणकारणाः किंचिदन्तरेण कस्याश्चिद् विद्यायाः पारङ्गतास्तत्रभवन्तः शिष्टाः . . . शिष्टपरिज्ञानार्थाऽष्टाध्यायी M B under S पृषोदरादीनि यथोपदिष्टम् (VI 3-109). *Ādarśa* = Aravalli mountains. कालकवन Rajmahal hills. *Pāriyātra* = West part of Vindhya (Geographical Dictionary by N. L. Dey).

3 The same idea is mentioned in *Baudhāyana Dharma sūtra* I 1-2 10.

east and *Vinaśana* or the plains at *Ādibadri* where the river *Sarasvatī* disappears on the west. The eastern country referred to by him may denote the countries situated south-east of the *Śarāvatī* and may consist of the Kāśī, Kosala, Vidarbha and Magadha, and the northern country may denote those situated north-west thereof.[3] The *Śarāvatī* is identified by Wilford with *B[illegible]* which passes through the district of Budaon in Rohilkhand.[4] In *Madhyadeśa*, he may have lived as near *Vipāśā* or the Beas as possible as he enjoins the *pratyaya* अञ् to the names of the wells north of her.[5] Most of the countries like *Kuru*, *Pañcāla* and cities like *Uśīnara* mentioned by him in the *sūtras* are nearer *madhyadeśa* than the eastern and northern countries though some are nearer the northern country. The names of most of the characters found in the *Mahābhārata* are mentioned in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and the place of accent in the word महाभारत is stated in the *sūtra* महान् व्रीहि ...भारत ... प्रवृद्धेषु (VI 2 38). *Kauśāmbī*, the birth place of *Kātyāyana*, the *Vārttikakāra* and *Prayāga*, the abode of the sage *Bharadvāja* and probably of the *Vārttikakāras* who went by the name of *Bhāradvājīyas* are in the *Madhyadeśa*, the probable abode of the *Sūtrakāra*. It has already been said that *Śalātura* was the residence of his forefathers and he seems to have

1 हिमवद्विन्ध्ययोर्मध्यं यत्प्राग्विनशनादपि ।
प्रत्यगेव प्रयागाच्च मध्यदेशः प्रकीर्तितः ॥ (Manu II 21.)

2 लोकोऽयं भारतं वर्षं शरावत्यास्तु योऽवधेः ।
देशः प्राग्दक्षिणः प्राच्य उदीच्यः पश्चिमोत्तरः ॥ (*Amarakośa*)

3 & 4 Geographical Dictionary by N. L. Dey

5 उदक् च विपाशः

6 [illegible] (VI-1 118), वासुदेवार्जुनाभ्यां वुन् (IV 3 98), भीमादयो-अपादाने (III 4-74), द्रोणपर्वत (IV 1 103), कुरुनादिभ्यो ण्यः (IV 1 172), साल्वेयगान्धारिभ्यां च (IV 1 169), [illegible] (4 3-116)

some knowledge of the places from *Śālātura* to *Madhyadeśa* at least the places mentioned by him -*Takṣaśilā*,[1] *Bāhīka*,[2] *Kekaya*,[3] *Trigarta*[4] *Parvata*[5] etc.

IS PANINI'S ASTADHYAYI A COMPILATION OR AN ORIGINAL WORK ?

"*Pāṇini* was not the *inventor of the Grammatical system* preserved in his work, though he improved the system of his predecessors, made his own additions to it . . . He availed himself of the technical terms of the older grammarians."[6]

"*Pāṇini* got handed down to him as *Upadeśa* from his *ācāryas* a book of *sūtras* which conformed to the *paribhāṣās* now found in the *Aṣṭ.*, with the *Dhātupāṭha* and the *Gaṇapāṭha* as companion volumes to that book of *sūtras*. The book of *sūtras* *Pāṇini* found, was incomplete and inadequate as a manual of Sanskrit grammar. So he proceeded to enlarge it mainly by incorporating with it *sūtras* borrowed from grammatical works belonging to schools of grammar other than his own; . . . by framing, wherever necessary, fresh *sūtras* of his own and adding them to it" "In the *Aṣṭ.* itself only those *sūtras* can be definitely ascribed to *Pāṇini* which, though they do not go against the *Paribhāṣās* found in the *Aṣṭ.*, yet can be shown to be additions by *Pāṇini* by the three tests of *maṇḍūkapluti*, the चानुकृष्टस्योत्तरत्रानुवृत्ति: and the purposeless *yogavibhāga*. *Such sūtras form only a*

1 सिन्धुतक्षशिलादिभ्योऽणञौ (IV-3-93).

2 वाहीकग्रामेभ्यश्च (IV-2-117).

3 केकयमित्त्रयुप्रलयानां यादेरियः (VII-3-2)

4 भर्गात् त्रैगर्ते (IV-1-111).

5 The word *Parvata* in the *sūtras* आयुधजीविभ्यश्छः (IV-3-91) पर्वते पर्वताच्च (IV-2-143) may refer to the country (*Geographical Dictionary* by N. L. Dey)

6 *Pāṇini* and his place in Literature by T. Goldstücker p. 88

7 The structure of the *Ashtadhyayi* by I. S. Pawate p. 114.

negligible minority in the *field*. Then why call the *Aindra* system of grammar the *Pāṇinīya* at all? Why? Because answer *Patañjali* and *Vāmana* and *Jayāditya* it is पाणिनिना प्रोक्तम्, न तु कृतम्—*Paspaśā*; तेन प्रोक्तम् IV-III-101: प्रवचनेन प्रोक्तम् न च तेन कृतम्."[1]

Pawate took पाणिनिना प्रोक्तम् पाणिनीयम् found in *Paspaśā* along with the *bhāṣya* under the *sūtra* तेन प्रोक्तम् and came to the conclusion that *Pāṇini* is more a *Pravaktṛ* than the author of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.[2] But, *Patañjali* has conclusively proved from the use of the words प्रणयति स्म, प्रयुङ्क्ते, करोति, क्रियन्ते, कृतिः, कर्ता, पठितम्, शास्ति, आह etc. in the following quotations that *Pāṇini* is not a mere *Pravaktṛ* but also the author[3]: प्रमाणभूत आचार्यो दर्भपवित्रपाणिः शुचाववकाशे प्राङ्मुख उपविश्य महता प्रयत्नेन सूत्राणि प्रणयति स्म (M. B. under वृद्धिरादैच् I-1-1).

माङ्गलिक आचार्यो महतः शास्त्रौघस्य मङ्गलार्थं वृद्धिशब्दमादितः प्रयुङ्क्ते (*ibid*).

पश्यति त्वाचार्यः 'आदेशो यः सकारस्तस्य षत्वम्' इति.—ततो वस्ग्रहणं करोति (*ibid* under आदेशप्रत्यययोः VIII-3-59).

देश्याः सूत्रनिबन्धाः क्रियन्ते (*ibid* under अतिशायने तमबिष्ठनौ V-3-55).

शोभना खलु पाणिनेः सूत्रस्य कृतिः (*ibid* under उभयप्राप्तौ कर्मणि II-3-66).

य एव तस्य समयस्य कर्ता स एवेदमप्याह (*ibid* under वासरूपोऽस्त्रियाम् III-1-94).

आचार्येण सूत्रं पठितं पञ्चम्या च निर्देशः कृतः (*ibid* under ... ष्यङ्गोत्रे IV-I-78).

आचार्येण सूत्रं पठितम् (*ibid* under V-1-115).

1 *ibid.* pp. 118-119.
2 *ibid* p. 123.
3 न केवला प्रकृतिः प्रयोक्तव्या न च केवलः प्रत्ययः

यद्व्राह्मणादिभ्यो यत्र दृश्यन्ते (M. B. [illegible] ब्राह्मणमाणववाडवाद्यत् IV-2-42).

पश्यति त्वाचार्यो न द्विशब्द आदेशो भवतीति, ततस्तस्य पदसमुदायस्येदमनुदात्तत्वमाह (M. B. under सर्वस्य द्वे VIII-1-1).

The statement of *P*[illegible] got handed down [illegible] from his [illegible] of [illegible] is quite contrary to the statement of the author of the *K*[illegible] विशेषेण [illegible] ततः [illegible] स्वयमभिसन्धाय [illegible] पाणिनिना प्रोक्तं पाणिनीयमकालकं व्याकरणम् under the *sūtra* उपज्ञाते (IV-3-115).

Besides *P*[illegible] [illegible] that [illegible] is [illegible] *nitya* as *chandā-brāhmaṇāni.*

(*cf.* अन्यत्राभिधेयमनित्यं भवति। पाणिनीयमिति च पाणिनीया इति च (M. B. under छन्दोब्राह्मणानि च तद्विषयाणि IV-2-66).

न हि छन्दांसि क्रियन्ते, नित्यानि छन्दांसि (M. B. under तेन प्रोक्तम् IV-3-101.)

In about 4000 *sūtras* of *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, *Pāṇini* mentions the names of seers who held different views in 19 *sūtras*,[1] the name of *ācāryas* in general in two *sūtras*, [illegible] in one *sūtra*, [illegible] in one *sūtra*, *prācām* and *udīcām* in about 20 *sūtras*. Besides, the *sūtras* जनपदे लुप् (IV-2-81), वरणादिभ्यश्च (IV-2-82),[2] लुपि युक्तवद्व्यक्तिवचने (1-2-51), औङ आपः (VII-1-18), आङि चापः (VII-3-105)[3] and आङो नास्त्रियाम् (VII-3-120) are considered to be the *sūtras* of his predecessors. Thus only about fifty *sūtras* deal with the opinion of others.

Hence it seems that *Aṣṭādhyāyī* should be taken only as an original contribution of *Pāṇini* to the grammatical literature and not a compilation of the *sūtras* of previous

1 शाकल्य —4, शाकटायन—3, गालव, गार्ग्य, [illegible] — 2, काश्यप, [illegible], चाक्रवर्मण, भारद्वाज, आपिशलि, सेनक each 1.

2 व्यक्तिवचने इति च [illegible] पूर्वाचार्यनिर्देशः [illegible] (काशिका).

3 पूर्वसूत्रनिर्देशोऽयं पूर्वसूत्रेषु च येऽनुबन्धा न तैरिहेत्कार्याणि क्रियन्ते (महाभाष्यम्).

4 आङीति पूर्वाचार्यनिर्देशेन [illegible] (काशिका).

authors, though he made use of *saṃjñās* of his predecessors, and adopted their method as in the use of इत् etc.

Pawate considers that जनपदे लुप्, वरणादिभ्यश्च, लुपि युक्तवद्व्यक्तिवचने, are the *sūtras* of *pūrvācāryas* and they are refuted by *Pāṇini* in the *sūtras* तदशिष्यं संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात् and लुब्योगाप्रख्यानात् and ओङ आपः, आङो नास्त्रियाम्, आङि चापः were incorporated by *Pāṇini* from previous authors.[1]

Barend Faddegon thinks that the five *sūtras* beginning with तदशिष्यं संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात् (I 2 53) are interpolations.[2] The interpolation consisted originally in *sūtra* 53, an antagonistic opinion current in the old grammarian schools and well explained and refuted by *Patañjali*. Its insertion after I 2 52 is due to the artificial term *lup* used in *sūtra* I 2 51. Afterwards the term *saṃjñā* was misunderstood and a long series of objections were interpolated by schoolmasters who did not understand the worth of *Pāṇini's* researches.

Faddegon's theory mostly rests on the interpretation of the sentence किं या एताः कृत्रिमाष्टिघुभादिसंज्ञाः तत्प्रामाण्यादशिष्यम्. नेत्याह. संज्ञानं संज्ञा found in the *Mahābhāṣya* under तदशिष्यं संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात्. Both the author of the *Kāśikā* and Faddegon have taken the sentence किं या एताः कृत्रिमाष्टिघुभादिसंज्ञाः तत्प्रामाण्यादशिष्यम् to be the statement of *pūrvapakṣa*. But the former holds the view that the *pūrvapakṣa* without correctly understanding what तत् in तदशिष्यं stands for and mistaking that it refers to the *saṃjñās* created by *Pāṇini* asked whether *ṭi*, *ghu*, *bha* etc. need not be mentioned and the *siddhāntin* replies that it was not so since the word संज्ञा in संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात् refers only to those *saṃjñās* whose meaning can be well understood. There are many instances in the *Mahābhāṣya* wherein questions are put by *pūrvapakṣin*

1 The structure of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* pp 110-113

2 Studies on *Pāṇini's* grammar by Barend Faddegon p. 57

without understanding the correct meaning. Besides he seems to have taken संज्ञा to mean संज्ञान; but संज्ञा (in the *sūtra*) means that through which correct denotation is produced and hence it is said संज्ञाशब्दा हि नानालिङ्गसङ्ख्याः. Faddegon thinks that the interpretations of *Patañjali* and the author of the *Kāśikā* on सञ्ज्ञाने संज्ञा are different. Since the *Vārttikakāra* himself says पूर्वसूत्रनिर्देशो वापिशलमधीत इति under the *sūtra* अनुपसर्जनात् (IV 1 14) and the *Mahābhāṣyakāra* says पूर्वसूत्रनिर्देशोऽयं under औङ आपः (VII 1 18), पूर्वसूत्रनिर्देशश्च under अह्नोऽदन्तात् (VIII 4 7), it is quite possible that *Pāṇini* may have incorporated some *sūtras* of the previous authors like *Āpiśali* and *Kāśakṛtsna* whose works are definitely understood from the *Mahābhāṣya* to have preceded *Pāṇini's*.[1]

WAS PANINI THE AUTHOR OF THE GAṆAPĀṬHA OR NOT

Pawate says that "it seems that the whole of the *Gaṇapāṭha* and consequently the *sūtras* for which the various *gaṇas* were written are pre-*Pāṇinian*" and "*Pāṇini* received the whole of the *Gaṇapāṭha* from his predecessors as उपदेश".[2] The arguments that he adduces thereto are that, according to the प्राचीनकारिका

धातुसूत्रगणोणादिवाक्यलिङ्गानुशासनम् ।
आगमप्रत्ययादेशा उपदेशाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

upadeśa includes the *gaṇapāṭha*, and *Nāgojibhaṭṭa* states 'उपदेश इत्युक्ते गुरुकर्तृकतायाः स्वस्मिनः प्रतीतिः'[3] and "*Kaiyaṭa* held that the *Gaṇapāṭha* preceded the *Sūtrapāṭha*"[4] and the statement

1. पूर्वसूत्रनिर्देशो वापिशलमधीत इति
   काशकृत्स्निना प्रोक्ता मीमांसा } (*Kāśikā* under IV 1 14)
   तथा चापिशलसूत्रम् [illegible] *Kāśikā* under [illegible] 2 4 [illegible]
   आपिशलपाणिनीयव्याडीयगौतमीयाः [illegible] VI 2 [illegible]
2. The structure of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* pp. 86 and 87
3. *Kaiyaṭa* under [illegible] उपदेश in *Pradīpa* [illegible] *Mahābhāṣya* [illegible]
4. The structure of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* pp. 86 [illegible]

in the *Mahābhāṣya* "इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनं, ष्यादिपर्युदासेन पर्युदासो मा भूदिति" which suggests that there were two ways of reading सर्वादिगण

In the *Kāśikā* there is mention of सूत्र also and the expression of *Nāgeśa* [illegible] स्वरमन प्रतीति, suggests that the word उपदेश has more meanings than one and *Patañjali* himself gives two meanings to it प्रत्यक्षमाख्यानमुपदेशः and गुणैः प्रापणमुपदेशः under the *sūtra* उपदेशेऽजनुनासिक इत् (I 3 2). Two ways of reading सर्वादिगण might have existed at the time of *Patañjali*, of which one was generally preferred. There are certain definite statements in the *Mahābhāṣya* which suggest that the framework of the *gaṇapāṭha* was the work of *Pāṇini* and it was further amplified by later authors.

1 स्वरादीनां च पुनः सूत्रपाठे ग्रहणानर्थक्यं गणे पठितत्वात् (*Vārttika* under I 1 34). The word पुनः is appropriate only if both the *Sūtrapāṭha* and *gaṇapāṭha* are the works of the same author.

2 (*a*) यदयं श्वनशब्दं गौरादिषु पठति (M. B. under विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यम् I-4-2)

(*b*) यदयं कस्कादिषु भ्रातुष्पुत्रशब्दं पठति (*ibid* under इदुदुपधस्य चाप्रत्ययस्य III 1 41)

(*c*) यत् सवनादिषु अश्वसनिशब्दं पठति (*ibid* under VIII 3 110)

The word पठति as the predicate of आचार्य which refers to *Pāṇini* clearly tells us that, in the opinion of *Patañjali* गौरादिगण, कस्कादिगण and सवनादिगण are the work of *Pāṇini*.

3 (*a*) पत्रमन्यच्च पूर्वनिपातं प्राप्नोति; राजदन्तादिषु पाठः करिष्यते (M. B. under V-4-7)

(*b*) नासिक्यो वर्ण इति पद्मुखादिषु पाठः करिष्यते, नासिक्यं नगरमिति सङ्काशादिषु पाठः करिष्यते (*ibid* under VI 1 63)

(*c*) यवादिषु पाठः करिष्यते (*ibid* under VIII-2 12)

(d) युवादिषु पाठः करिष्यते (M. B. under VIII 4 7)

(e) कथं चटका मूषिकेति ? अजादिषु पाठः कर्तव्यः (*ibid* under IV-1-63)

The expressions पाठः करिष्यते and पाठः कर्तव्यः may tell us that the *Gaṇapāṭha* was amplified by *Mahābhāṣyakāra*.

4 (a) अधिकरणे शेतेः पार्श्वादिषूपसङ्ख्यानम् (*Vārttika* under III 2-15)

(b) गवि च विन्देः सञ्ज्ञायामुपसङ्ख्यानम् (M. B. under III 1 138) The word उपसङ्ख्यानम् suggests that the *Gaṇapāṭha* was supplemented by *Vārttikakāra*.

5 The inclusion of व्याडि in क्रौड्यादि is a clear indication that the *Gaṇapāṭha* received additions later on.

6 Some *gaṇas* were created later on.

Cf कम्बोजादिभ्यो लुग्वचनं चोडाद्यर्थम् (*Vārttika* under कम्बोजाल्लुक् IV-1-175.)

चोडाद्यर्थम् चोडः, कडेरः, केरलः. (M. B. under *id.*)

Pāṇini should be credited with the authorship of the framework of *Gaṇapāṭha*, which was amplified later in several ways. The process of amplification may be said to have reached its *acme* in the well known device of the *ākṛtigaṇa* fiction.

WAS PĀṆINI THE AUTHOR OF THE DHATUPATHA OR NOT?[1]

"The ground work of the only *Dhātupāṭha* we now possess is, like the ground work of the *Uṇādi* list, the work of *Pāṇini* ... "This list makes use of the same mute letters which are the *anubandhas* of *Pāṇini's* grammar, and their

[1] *Pāṇini*: His place in Sanskrit Literature — T. Goldstücker p. [illegible]

grammatical value is exactly the same in both works."[1] This statement of Goldstücker should be true, since *Pāṇini* limits the number of roots which undergo a particular modification as शमित्यष्टाभ्यो घिनुण् (III 2 141), फणां च सप्तानाम् (VI 4 125) रुदश्च पञ्चभ्यः (VII 3 98). *Patañjali* himself states that the *Dhātupāṭha* should have been a work separate from the *Ashṭādhyāyī* and it should be the work of *Pāṇini*.[2] The meanings given to roots in the *Dhātupāṭha* is considered by *Kaiyaṭa* to be *non Pāṇinīyan* and is held to be the work of *Bhīmasena* by *Nāgojibhaṭṭa*.[3] *Patañjali* shows that some portion of the *Dhātupāṭha* was lost before him.[4] *Kaiyaṭa* shows that the *Dhātupāṭha* was amplified later by the *Vārttikakāra* and *Mahābhāshyakāra*.[5]

Pawate says, "The various schools of Sanskrit grammar seem to have had their own separate *Dhatupathas* . . . The *Paniniyas* themselves had their *Dhatupatha* in more than one version . . . But at present we have only one version of the *Paninian Dhatupatha* and the other seems to have been irrecoverably lost . . . The author of the *Ashtadhyayi* is not the author of the Dh. P . . . The Dh. P seems to be the work of a predecessor of *Panini*. But nevertheless the arrangement of roots in the Dh. P. clearly shows that the author of the

1 *Ibid* p 140

2 [illegible] 'आपिशल [illegible] पाठो [illegible]' [illegible] (M B under *Sūtra* भूवादयो धातवः I-3-1)

[illegible] (M B under I 3 72)

3 [illegible] (*Kaiyaṭa* under the same *sūtra* [illegible] (*Uddyota*)

4 [illegible] (M B under [illegible] VI-1-64

[illegible] (M B under [illegible] VI-1 66)

[illegible] *Kaiyaṭa* under [illegible])

5 [illegible] (*Pradīpa* under भूवादयो धातवः I-3-1).

Dh. P. knew very many *sūtras* now found in the *Ashṭādhyāyī* and so arranged them in the Dh. P. as to serve the purposes of those *sūtras*."[1] . . .

WAS PĀṆINI THE AUTHOR OF UṆĀDI OR NOT

T. Goldstücker says, "All the *Uṇādi* affixes have *anubandhas* which are exactly the same and have the same grammatical effect as those used by *Pāṇini*. They cannot be later than this work, for it refers to them; they cannot have preceded it, for *Patañjali* says that "whatever *anubandhas* [illegible] of a [illegible] grammarian, they have no [illegible] *bandhas* effect in *Pāṇini's* work". Consequently the *Uṇādi* list must be of *Pāṇini's* own authorship. This conclusion is based on the interpretation of इह in the sentence [illegible] न [illegible] न [illegible] क्रियन्ते (M. Bh. [illegible] VII [illegible]) [illegible] means *Pāṇini's* grammar. [illegible] the *sūtras* in which such *anubandhas* [illegible]. Besides the statement of *Kaiyaṭa* उणादय इत्येव सूत्रमुपात्तेन शास्त्रान्तरपठितानां साधुत्वाभ्यनुज्ञानार्थमस्तु इति भाव: [illegible] उणादयो बहुलम् (III. 3. 1) and *Nāgojībhaṭṭa's* statement एतच्च [illegible] सूत्राणि शाकटायनस्येति सूचितम् under the same [illegible] suggest that, according to *Kaiyaṭa*, *Uṇādi* is the work of another grammarian and according to *Nāgojībhaṭṭa* it is the work of *Śākaṭāyana*. But T. Goldstücker says that, "since *Nāgojī's* conjecture is purely personal, and is not supported by any evidence, I may be allowed, after the explanation I have given, to assume that the *Uṇādi* list is of *Pāṇini's* authorship."

WAS PĀṆINI AWARE OF THE EXISTENCE OF ATHARVAVEDA

T. Goldstücker argues that *Pāṇini* did not have a knowledge of the *Atharvaveda* since *Pāṇini's sūtras* did not

1 The Structure of the *Ashṭādhyāyī* by I. S. Pawate [illegible]

2 शास्त्रान्तरे = व्याकरणान्तरे (*Uddyota*)

speak of either the compound *Atharvāṅgirasa* or the derivative *Ātharvaṇa* though he mentions the names *Atharvan* in II.4.63 and *Ātharvaṇika* in (IV.3.133 and VI.4.174) and though *Patañjali* mentions आथर्वणो मन्त्रः and आथर्वण आम्नाय under IV.3.133. Besides words अथर्वन् and आथर्वण found in the *gaṇa* under IV.2.63 mean only a literary work.[1] Since *Atharvaveda* was named not only अथर्वाङ्गिरस but also आथर्वण and since the latter is mentioned in the *Chāndogyopaniṣad*[2] which is not considered later than *Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya*, and since the word आम्नाय generally denotes *Veda* in Sanskrit Literature, the statement आथर्वण आम्नाय must be understood to mean अथर्ववेद. Besides, when *Patañjali* at the beginning of the *Mahābhāṣya* has stated that *Pāṇini* deals with both *Vaidika* and *Laukika* words, he quotes four *Vedic* texts to represent four *Vedas*. शन्नो देवीरभिष्टये is the text he quotes to represent the *Atharvaveda*. He refers to the same on three more occasions :—

> ओं इत्युक्त्वा वृत्तान्तशः शमित्येवमादीन् शब्दान् पठन्ति (M. B. *Paspaśā.*)

> शन्नोदेवीयकमधीष्व (M. B. under I.3.2).

> शन्नोदेवीय माहिनयार्चिष्य *ibid* under I.4.110).

The words अथर्वन् and आथर्वण cannot be said to mean only a *non-vedic* literary work since the other words in the group वसन्त, ग्रीष्म, वर्षा, शरद्, शमन are all taken by *Patañjali* to mean the study of *Veda* in *vasanta* etc., and the context favours the view that the expression आथर्वण आम्नायः refers to the *Veda* whose seer is *Atharvan*.

1 *cf.* यस्मादृचो अपातक्षन् यजुर्यस्मादपाकषन्। सामानि यस्य लोमान्यथर्वाङ्गिरसो मुखं स्कम्भं तं ब्रूहि कतमः स्विदेव सः A. V. X.7.20.

2 *cf.* ऋग्वेदं भगवोऽध्येमि यजुर्वेदं सामवेदमाथर्वणं चतुर्थम् (*Chāndogyopaniṣad* VII.1) वसन्तसहचरितमध्ययनं वसन्तः अध्ययनम् (M. B. under IV.2.63.)

P. Thieme tells us that the word पत्नयति in P. S. III 2 51 suggests that *Pāṇini* is conversant with *Atharvaveda* since पैलवर्तन् is found in A. V. 6.16.3. *Patañjali* also in his statement सर्ववेदपारिषदं हीदं शास्त्रम् under तत्पुरुषे कृति बहुलम् (VI 3.14) and under पूर्वापर (I 1.58), *Kaiyaṭa* through his commentary सर्वत्रवमाथर्वणानामेव शब्दानां प्रतिपादनं क्रियते and *Nāgeśabhaṭṭa* in his gloss इदन्तु सर्वेषां वैदिकानां लौकिकानाञ्च शब्दानामनुशासनम् suggests that *Pāṇini* knew *Atharvaveda samhitā*.

PĀṆINI'S KNOWLEDGE OF THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE VEDAS INTO MANTRA AND BRĀHMAṆA AND THE EXISTENCE OF KALPASŪTRAS ETC.

The mention of the word मन्त्र in the *sūtras* I 1.50, III 2.71, II 4.80, V 3.131 and VI 4.141 and of the words ब्राह्मण and कल्प in the *sūtra* पुराणप्रोक्तेषु ब्राह्मणकल्पेषु (IV 3.105) suggests that *Pāṇini* was aware of the classification of the *Vedas* into *mantrabhāga* and *brāhmaṇabhāga*. Besides, the word पुराण suggests that some *brāhmaṇas* and *kalpas* were considered to be ancient and some to be recent. *Kāśikā* gives भाल्लविनः, शाट्यायनिनः, ऐतरेयिणः, पैङ्गी, आरुणपराजी for the former and याज्ञवल्कानि and आश्मरथः for the latter. From this it is evident that the author of the *Kāśikā* considered *Pāṇini*, *Yājñavalkya*, *Āśmarathya* to be contemporaries or the last two lived a few years before him. याज्ञवल्क्यादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधस्तुल्यकालत्वात् *Kāśikā*[2] suggests that, in the opinion of *Kātyāyana*, *Yājñavalkya* was contemporary of *Pāṇini*. From the statement in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* अनेनमजयस्यापि शतानीको भविष्यति । योऽसौ याज्ञवल्क्याद्वेदमधीत्य कृपादस्त्राण्यवाप्य शौनकोपदेशात् आत्मज्ञाने प्रवीण it is clear that शतानीक, याज्ञवल्क्य, शौनक and कृप are

1 *Pāṇini and the Veda* by P. Thieme p. 64

2 The *Kāśikā* is interpreted in two ways. The author of *Kāśikā* [illegible] *Bhāṭ*[illegible] considered *Yājñavalkya* to be [illegible] and *Nyāsa* [illegible] considered him to be a prior [illegible].

contemporaries. It may therefore be inferred that *Pāṇini* could have known *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. If so, he should have known [illegible] *Vājasaneyisaṃhitā*. But P. Thieme says that Goldstücker was right in saying that *Pāṇini* did not draw upon the white *Yajurveda*. The *sūtra* छन्दोगौक्थिकयाज्ञिकबह्वृचनटाञ्ञ्यः (IV 3.129) explaining the formation of छान्दोग्य, बाह्वृच्य tells us that *Pāṇini* was aware of the *Chāndogya* [illegible] and the *Brāhmaṇas* of the *Ṛgveda*. The *sūtra* त्रिंशच्चत्वारिंशतोर्ब्राह्मणे संज्ञायां डण् (V 1.62) may refer to कौषीतकी ब्राह्मण and ऐतरेयब्राह्मण since they have 30 and 40 *adhyāyas* respectively. ऐतरेयब्राह्मण originated in the country between *Kuru* and *Pañcāla* and it has already been shown that *Pāṇini* [illegible]. It is quite possible he was quite familiar with all the details relating to these *Brāhmaṇa* texts such as the number of *adhyāyas* they contained.

The *sūtras* मस्करमस्करिणौ वेणुपरिव्राजकयोः (VI 1.154) and पाराशर्यशिलालिभ्यां भिक्षुनटसूत्रयोः (IV 3.110) suggest that the fourth *āśrama* was recognised before him and there was a book of *sūtras* dealing with things concerning *sannyāsins*. It is worth considering whether the *Bhikṣusūtra* refers to *Brahmasūtras* since its author is said to be *Pārāśarya* here and the *adhikārin* to study it is generally considered to be *sannyāsin*. [illegible] शिलालिन् is said to be the author of *Naṭasūtra* [illegible]

1 *Pāṇini* and the *Veda* by P. Thieme p. 74.

[illegible] suggested by the *sūtra* [illegible] (V 1.62) [illegible] that V 1.62 with its reference to *Brāh*[illegible] to the *Aitareya* [illegible] impossible [illegible] *Brāhmaṇa* [illegible] There is no doubt regarding the R.V., K.S., M.S., T.S. and A.V. *Pāṇini* and the *Veda* by A. B. Keith (Indian Culture Vol. II, p. 737)

should then have been in a developed state. The mention of the word चरण in the sūtras चरणेभ्यो धर्मवत् (IV 2-46), गोत्रचरणाद्वुञ् (IV 3-126) and चरणे ब्रह्मचारिणि (VI 3-86) and the mention of तित्तिरि, कठ, कलापि etc. in the sūtras where तेन प्रोक्तम् has the sense, clearly suggest that each Veda had more than one śākhā in his time. The sūtra अध्यायेष्वेवर्षेः (IV 3-69) tells us that Vedas were divided into chapters and they were named after their authors. The word उपयोग in the sūtra आख्यातोपयोगे (I 4-29) and its interpretation by Patañjali as नियमपूर्वकाध्ययनम् suggests that Vedas were studied with नियम as like vratas, works etc. etc.[1]

The sūtras नित्यं हस्ते पाणावुपयमने (I 4-77), मातृपदीनं मध्यम (V 2-22) suggest that the important details of the marriage ceremony were the same in Pāṇini's time as they are now. श्राद्धे शरदः (IV 3-12) suggests that there were śrāddhas performed in his time. The word दायाद in II 3-39 suggests that there was partition of parental property. The sūtras यज्ञकर्मण्यजपन्यूङ्खसामसु (I 2-34), न सुब्रह्मण्यायां स्वरितस्य तूदात्तः (I 2-37), यज्ञे समि स्तुवः (III 3-31) etc. clearly show that most of the details of यज्ञs also were the same in his time as they are now.

From the points noted above it follows that there were Śrauta, Gṛhya, and Dharma sūtras before Pāṇini's time.

The sūtras आयुधजीविभ्यश्छः पर्वते (IV 3-91), ब्राह्मणकोष्णिके संज्ञायाम् (V 2-71) tell us that a section of brāhmaṇas in the Parvata country lived on weapons.

But Krishna Ghosh says, "[illegible] sūtras of Pāṇini, Pāṇini must have been directly copying from the Ṛk Prātiśākhya".[2]

1 उपयोग: को ? [illegible] नियमपूर्वकमध्ययनम् [illegible] उपयोग इति [illegible] शृणोति (M. B. under I-4-29)

2 [illegible] Vol IV p. [illegible]

The words नान्दी, लिपि in III 2 21, शिल्पिनि in III 2 55, श्लोक in III 1 25 and III 2 23 and सूत्र in III 2 23 and IV 2 65 suggest that writing, architecture, the *sūtra* form of the composition and the designation of श्लोक to verses were known in his time. The word भाषायां in *sūtras* like VIII 2 98 and the word छन्दसि in *sūtras* like III 3 129 suggest that Sanskrit was a spoken language in his time and it began to differ from the Sanskrit used in the *Vedas*. The *sūtras* उपमानानि सामान्यवचनैः (II 1 55) उपमितं व्याघ्रादिभिः सामान्याप्रयोगे (II 1 56) कर्तर्युपमाने (III 2 79) show that the figure of speech उपमा was then known and the word उपमा was also used in the sense of *equal* as is inferred from the *sūtra* तुल्यार्थैरतुलोपमाभ्यां तृतीयान्यतरस्याम् (II 3 72). The *sūtra* दक्षिणापश्चात्पुरसस्त्यक् (IV 2 98) tells us that the words दाक्षिणात्य, पाश्चात्य and पौरस्त्य were in use in his time. Originally they may have meant one belonging to the southern country, one belonging to the western and one belonging to the eastern. This may perhaps suggest that *Pāṇini* was in the *madhyadeśa* and referred to people south, west and east of it.[1]

The *sūtra* यस्कादिभ्यो गोत्रे (II 4 63) refers to *Yāska*.[2] Goldstücker thinks that he is anterior to *Pāṇini*. Since it is only a traditional name, it is better to come to a definite conclusion on the point on the strength of another positive evidence.

1 Under the *sūtra* [illegible] (I 1 2?) [illegible] [illegible] Dictionary.)

2 *Pāṇini*: His place in Sanskrit Literature p. 171

THE PLAN AND PRINCIPLE OF COMPOSITION IN THE AṢṬĀDHYĀYĪ

Faddegon in his studies on *Pāṇini's* grammar writes: "The first five chapters deal with the theory of the ultimate components of language or the analytical part of grammar; the sixth and the seventh chapters with the theory of word coalescence and accentuation in general; and the eighth with the theory of sentence-coalescence and of consonantal sandhi in general."[1]

The main principles of *Pāṇini's* forms of literary composition are [illegible], logical division and associative digression, and the subsidiary forms of composition and arrangement are [illegible], declarative insertion like the definitions of *saṃhitā* and *avasāna* at the end of a chapter, [illegible] division like [illegible] in the last *sūtra* of a *pāda* and the subject of the following *pāda* or giving at the beginning of a *pāda* a few additions to the foregoing para and insertion by emergency.[2] A fact of peculiar interest in *Pāṇini's* composition is the tendency towards dichotomy in the main divisions of his work.[3] The indeclinables (avyayas) are enumerated by *Pāṇini* in 1. 1. 37-41 and 1. 4. 56-97, the former being based on etymology and the latter on function. The term *nipāta* is used in its *wide* significance to include all the indeclinables with a relational meaning (conjunctions, modal adverbs, close adverbs to finite verbs, prefixes to deverbative nouns and indeclinables, case adverbs which have developed into free adverbs, prepositions) and in a *narrow* significance to denote only conjunctions and modal adverbs. This distinction of a *wide* and *narrow* significance appears to be a kind of logical

1 Studies on Pāṇini's Grammar by B. Faddegon pp. [illegible]-53

2 *Ibid* p. 49

3 *Ibid* pp. 50—51

4 *Ibid* pp. 7—8

are [illegible] chosen for the sake of brevity. The word क्रियायोगे is used in the sense 'in connection with the *notion of an action either expressed or implied*' from the use of *upasarga* in V 4 119, VI 2 177 and VI 3 97 and not in the sense 'in connection with a *word expressing an action*, either a finite verb or a [illegible]'. The terms कर्मप्रवचनीय, and कर्मधारय: might have been due to the [illegible] of the older schools since the word कर्म in both is not used in the same sense as that in कर्तुरीप्सिततमं कर्म.

What strikes us the [illegible] is the trustworthiness of *Pāṇini*. His power of close [illegible], his [illegible] of language, his deep intellectual [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] with [illegible] of *Pāṇini*'s work for [illegible] information, however [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], but [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] composition and especially [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] work [illegible] [illegible] in this respect great [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Speyer of this work that it is [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] but also [illegible] genuous text-book.[5]

"[illegible] *Pāṇini* [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the spirit of India".[6]

HIS OTHER WORK.

Pāṇini is the author of *Pāṇinīya [illegible]* or *[illegible]* *[illegible]yāyam* [illegible].

1 *Ibid* pp. 15 and 16.

2 *Ibid* p. 17

3 *Ibid* p. 47 4 *Ibid* p. 48 5 *Ibid* p. 48 6 *Ibid* p. 4

7 *Cf.* [illegible] verse of *Pāṇini* by *K[illegible]* ([illegible] Indian Historical Quarterly Vol. XIII.)

Kātyāyana Vararuci was very prominent among a large number of seers [illegible] etc. who wrote *Vārttikas* on *Pāṇini's* grammar. *Kātyāyana's Vārttikas* are generally prose, though some of them are verses.[3] *Pāṇini* mentions the names of other grammarians like [illegible], the propounder of the six [illegible] and refers to others in expressions like [illegible], **ācāryas, kecit etc.**

[illegible]

Vārttika is defined thus by [illegible]:

उक्तानुक्तदुरुक्तार्थचिन्ताकारि तु वार्त्तिकम्

This is translated by Prof. [illegible] as under: "The characteristic feature of a *Vārttika* is [illegible] in regard to that which is omitted or imperfectly expressed in a *sūtra*." Prof. F. Kielhorn, on a close study of the first nine [illegible]

1 [illegible] (VI-4-47) etc.

2 [illegible] (VI-1-165), [illegible] ... (VI-3-43) etc.

3 [illegible] *harakeika.* The *Vārttika* [illegible] have been by *Ślokavārttikakāra*

4 [illegible]

5 [illegible]

6 [illegible]

7 [illegible] Sanskrit Literature p. [illegible]

of the *Mahābhāṣya* thinks that the *Vārttikas* consider whether anything has been omitted in the *sūtras* that should have been stated and whether there is in them anything that is superfluous, faulty or objectionable. Prof. Goldstücker, consequently says that "*Kātyāyana* did not mean to justify and to defend the rules of *Pāṇini*, but to find fault with them" and that "*Kātyāyana* does not leave the impression of an admirer or friend of *Pāṇini*, but that of an *antagonist*, often too, of an unfair *antagonist*." Prof. Kielhorn, on the other hand, tells us that "the object of the *Vārttikas* is then no other than this, without bias or prejudice to discuss such objections as might be raised to the rules of *Pāṇini's* grammar and on the one hand to justify *Pāṇini* by defending him against unfounded criticism, and on the other hand to correct, reject, and add to, the rules laid down by him, where defence and justification were considered impossible." Prof. Kielhorn deserves our gratitude for having found out the real spirit of the *Vārttikas* and the attitude of *Kātyāyana* towards *Pāṇini*. For in a study of all the 85 *āhnikas* of the *Mahābhāṣya* I see that, of about 1700 *sūtras* discussed there, about 450 have no *vārttikas*. Of the remaining 1250 *sūtras* more than 700 *sūtras* are fully explained by the *Vārttikakāra* without picking any hole in them. About ten *sūtras* are found by him to be not necessary. In the majority of the remaining 240 *sūtras* only additions and corrections or more correctly, changes in form and meaning are made. Since a long time should have elapsed between *Pāṇini's* time and *Kātyāyana's* time, it is just possible in the *spoken* language for words to have been changed both *morphologically* and

1 *Kātyāyana and Patañjali* by F. Kielhorn p. 48.

2 *Pāṇini*: His Place in Sanskrit Literature p. 91.

3 *Kātyāyana and Patañjali* p. 48.

semantically and to have become obsolete. Hence the expression [illegible] may be appropriate from the standpoint of a *descriptive* grammarian, but is unsound from the standpoint of a *historical* grammarian. *Kātyāyana* shows himself a *historical* grammarian in having noticed such changes.

KĀTYĀYANA WAS LATER THAN PĀṆINI

The following *vārttikas* clearly show the great regard *Kātyāyana* had towards *Pāṇini*.

(1) आचार्याचारात्संज्ञासिद्धिः (*Vārttika* under वृद्धिरादैच् I-1-1).

(2) भूवादीनां वकारोऽयं मङ्गलार्थः प्रयुज्यते (*ibid* under भूवादयो धातवः I-3-1).

(3) सिद्धे च सति शाकल्यभाक्समासे
तदर्थमेतद्भगवांश्चकार ॥ (*ibid* under इको यणचि VI-1-77).

(4) बहुव्रीहिस्वरं शास्ति समासान्तविधेः सुहृत् (*ibid* under बहुव्रीहौ ..VI-2-1).

(5) प्रातिपदिकविज्ञानाच्च पाणिनेः सिद्धम् (*ibid* under आयन VII-1-2).

(6) सिद्धं तु तद्गुणसंविज्ञानात्पाणिनिर्यथा लोके (*ibid* under एकाचो द्वे प्रथमस्य VI-1-1).

(7) एकशेषनिर्देशाद्वा स्वरभिन्नानां भगवतः पाणिनेः सिद्धम् (*ibid* under अ अ VIII-4-68).

The word सुहृत् and भगवान् used to refer to *Pāṇini* speak volumes. *Kātyāyana* seems to admire the service rendered by *Pāṇini* and the great traits of his character.

Cf. *Pāṇini*: His Place in Sanskrit Literature by T. Goldstücker pp. 95—98.

	Form according to Pāṇini	*Form according to Kātyāyana*
(a)	एकतरत् (अद्ड्डतरादिभ्यः पञ्चभ्यः VII-1-25).	एकतरम् (एकतरात् प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः).
(b)	[illegible] [illegible] (यरोऽनुनासिकेऽनुनासिको वा VIII-4-45);	[illegible] to [illegible] (प्रत्यये भाषायां नित्यम्).
(c)	आश्चर्यमनित्ये (VI-1-147) (not permanent, rare).	आश्चर्यमद्भुत इति वक्तव्यम् (wonderful)
(d)	भोज्यं भक्ष्ये (VII-3-69) (applicable to the eating of solid alone).	भोज्यमभ्यवहार्यमात्र इति वक्तव्यम् (applicable to the eating of solid and liquid).

When such is the case, it is not possible to think that they were contemporaries as is said in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and that *Kātyāyana* was an intelligent pupil and *Pāṇini* was an idiot under the *Ācārya Varṣa* and they respectively composed *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and *Vārtika* through *Śiva's* grace. *Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita*, in his *Patañjalicarita* improves upon *Kathāsaritsāgara* by omitting to say that *Pāṇini* was an idiot and perhaps to emphasise the necessity for *Śeṣa's avatāra* as *Patañjali* makes both *Pāṇini* and *Kātyāyana* curse each other.

1) अथ कालेन वर्षस्य शिष्यवर्गो महानभूत्

तत्रैकः पाणिनिर्नाम जडबुद्धितरोऽभवत् ॥ (4–21)

तत्र तीव्रेण तपसा तोषितादिन्दुशेखरात् ।

सर्वविद्यामुखं तेन प्राप्तं व्याकरणं नवम् ॥ (4–22)

ततश्चागत्य मामेव वादायाह्वयते स्म सः ।

प्रवृत्ते चावयोर्वादे प्रयाताः सप्त वासराः ॥ (4–23)

अष्टमेऽह्नि मया तस्मिञ्जिते तत्समनन्तरम् ।

नभःस्थेन महाघोरो हुंकारः शंभुना कृतः ॥ (4–24)

तेन प्रणष्टमैन्द्रं तदस्मद्व्याकरणं भुवि ।

जिताः पाणिनिना सर्वे मूर्खीभूता वयं पुनः ॥ (4–25)

अथ संजातनिर्वेदः स्वगृहस्थितये धनम् ।

हस्ते हिरण्यगुप्तस्य विधाय वणिजो निजम् ॥ (4–26)

उक्त्वा तच्चोपकोशायै गतवानस्मि शङ्करम् ।

तपोभिराराधयितुं निराहारो हिमालयम् ॥ (4–27)

[illegible] ॥ (4–87)

तेनैव तेन शास्त्रं मे पाणिनीयं प्रकाशितम् ।

तदिच्छानुग्रहादेव मया पूर्णीकृतं च तत् ॥ (4–88)

2) [illegible]

[illegible] (1–67)

[illegible] पाणिनिशास्त्र[illegible] ।

[illegible] कात्यायनोऽपि प्रति [illegible] ॥ (1–68)

[illegible]

[illegible] ॥ (1–69)

Since in *Kathāsaritsāgara* the stories are said to be narrated by *Kātyāyana* and since *Kātyāyana* was definitely known to have written *Vārtika* on *Pāṇini's* work, the author may have thought it necessary that *Kātyāyana* should be shown as a preceptor, his pupil, that *Pāṇini* was an idiot, that he was able to write his work through *Śiva's* grace and through *Śiva's* intervention and grace *Kātyāyana* wrote the *Vārtika* on his work.

But at the same time we read the following statement regarding *Pāṇini* in pages 221 and 222 of the first volume of the book, On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India by Thomas Watters:—

"Five hundred years after Buddha's decease, a great Arhat from Kashmir in his travels as an apostle arrived at this place (the tope in Po-lo-tu-lo). Here he saw a Brahmin teacher chastising a young pupil. In reply to the Arhat's question, the teacher said he beat the boy for not making progress in Etymology. The Arhat answered, 'This boy of yours is the old rishi (*Pāṇini*).'"

Since this story should have been current long before *Kathāsaritsāgara* was written, it may have been made use of it, that *Pāṇini* was an idiot, though, according to it he was so in his next birth.

We may positively state that *Kātyāyana* lived long after *Pāṇini* from the following point — [illegible] द्रव्याभिधानं व्याडिः (under I 2 64); *Patañjali* states शोभना खलु दाक्षायणेन संग्रहस्य कृतिः (under II 3 66), संग्रह एतत्प्राधान्येन परीक्षितम् (*Paspaśā*) and आपिशलपाणिनीयव्याडीयगौतमीयाः (under VI 2 36), and *Kathāsaritsāgara* says,

अध्यापयितुमस्मांश्च प्रवृत्तोऽभूदसौ ततः ।

सकृच्छ्रुतं मया तत्र द्विःश्रुतं व्याडिना तथा ॥ (II 79)

[illegible] *Dīl[illegible]* and he was a contemporary of *Kāty[illegible]* [illegible] could not have been *Pāṇini's* contemporary [illegible] have lived at least 200 years later than he.[1]

KĀTYĀYANA'S BIRTHPLACE ETC

[illegible] is said to have been born at *Kauśāmbī* to [illegible] and [illegible] and educated under *Varṣa* at *Pāṭaliputra* [illegible] to have narrated the stories found in the *Kathā[illegible]* [illegible] the [illegible] of the *Nandas*. He is also said to have been the minister of *Yogānanda*.[2] Perhaps the *Vārttika* गहादिषु पृथिवीमध्यस्य मध्यमभावः under IV 2 138 suggests that he is [illegible]. From *Patañjali's* statement प्रियतद्धिता दाक्षिणात्याः under यथा लौकिकवैदिकेषु in *Paspaśāhnika*, it is generally [illegible] that *Kātyāyana* was a Southerner and he was [illegible] by *Patañjali*. R G Bhandarkar takes him to be a Southerner[3] and Prof Goldstucker says that he is one of the Eastern [illegible].[4] The reason therefor is that *Kātyāyana*

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1 [illegible] पाणिनि कात्यायनात् पूर्वतन [illegible] [illegible] वार्तिककार [illegible] [illegible] (*Śabdakalpadruma*)

2 कौशाम्ब्यां [illegible]
द्विजोऽभवत्तस्य भार्या च वसुदत्ताभिधाऽभवत् ॥
[illegible] (I, 30 31)
अस्ति पाटलिकं नाम पुरं नन्दस्य भूपतेः
[illegible] (I, II [illegible] 40)
[illegible] शुचौ भुवि ।
[illegible] ॥
[illegible] (II 78 79)
[illegible] ।
[illegible] (IV, 1,

3 *Cf* Indian Antiquary Vol II p 240

4 [illegible] History of Sanskrit Literature p 162

is called आचार्य and Patañjali, आचार्यदेशीय by Kaiyaṭa in his Pradīpa under यत्तदेतेभ्यः परिमाणे वतुप् (V-2-39) and Patañjali is taken by him to be identical with Gonardīya, in his Pradīpa under the sūtra आद्यन्तवदेकस्मिन् (I-1-21), and Gonarda is in the eastern country and the Kāśikā gives under एङ् प्राचां देशे (I-1-75) the example गोनर्दीय. But it will be dealt with later on that it is not easy to decide that गोनर्दीय refers only to Patañjali. If so, the theory that Kātyāyana belonged to eastern school may not stand. If it is stated that [illegible] he is said in Kathāsaritsāgara to have studied under [illegible] at Pāṭaliputra, he may be taken to belong to the Eastern school. It is also stated there that he forgot the [illegible] of Indra Vyākaraṇa which he studied [illegible] from the way in which Kātyāyana explains [illegible] of Pāṇini [illegible] vārttika [illegible] he has for Pāṇini, it is certain that [illegible] should have been an adherent of the Pāṇinian school [illegible] the [illegible] his birth place [illegible] was stated to be [illegible] by Patañjali [illegible] explained. From the way in which he refers to Kātyāyana in many places of the Mahābhāṣya, it is clear that he holds him as a great seer who had supplemented Pāṇini's sūtras. This is a clear proof that Patañjali cannot be taken to have succeeded at him [illegible] in that case we have to take it that [illegible] Dākṣiṇātya following some of the northern grammarians who

(a) [illegible] (M. B. under [illegible] I-3-[illegible]) [illegible] III-3-141 [illegible] IV-3-4 and [illegible] V-1-[illegible])

(a) आचार्येण [illegible] (M. B. under [illegible] I-1-14)

(b) [illegible] (M. B. under अलोन्त्यस्य I-1-52)

(c) [illegible] (M. B. under [illegible] VI-4-44)

(d) [illegible] आचार्यः [illegible] (M. B. under the vārttika in Paspaśā)

might have [illegible] him in that way. Under the *sūtra* प्रज्ञया विप्रतिपत्ति दक्षिणतः. I 1 2 1, of the *Baudhāyana Dharma* [illegible] commentator says दक्षिणेन नर्मदामुत्तरेण कन्यातीर्थम् and [illegible] *Kāmasūtra* makes mention of दाक्षिणात्यानाम् [illegible] 23 and *Bhartṛhari* mentions दाक्षिणात्येषु in his [illegible] दाक्षिणात्य is generally taken by modern [illegible] the [illegible] of दक्षिणापथ or Deccan. *Patañjali* [illegible] the [illegible] of दाक्षिणात्य in IV 2 98 to denote only a Southerner [illegible] as a matter for further consideration whether [illegible] is taken as a Southerner because he was [illegible] by [illegible] residents of countries north of his place or on account of [illegible] having resided long in the forests of the *Vindhyas*.

MERITS OF KĀTYĀYANA

In explaining *sūtras*, he adopts the method which is generally [illegible] dealing with an *adhikaraṇa* by giving the *pūrvapakṣa*, [illegible] the points raised and finally giving *siddhānta*. He also explains grammatical points on the analogy of [illegible] found in the world and mentioned in the *Vedas*, from the experience of the world, from nature, from *nyāyas* or maxims like.

> धकदाविकृतस्यानन्यत्वम् (under I-3-50 and VII 3 85)
>
> व्यपदेशिवद्वचनम् (under VI 1 1)
>
> अपवादन्यायः (under I-3-9)

[illegible] (under [illegible] I 1 [illegible] स्थानिवदादेशोऽनल्विधौ I 1-56, and एकः पूर्वपरयोः VI-1-84).

[illegible] प्रथमस्य VI 1 1 एकः पूर्वपरयोः VI-1 84 *etc*

[illegible] (under अलोऽन्त्यात्पूर्व उपधा I 1 65 [illegible] VI-2-36 *etc*.)

[illegible] (under [illegible] पूर्वकाले II 4-21 लोकवत् (under अजादेर्द्वितीयस्य VI-1-2).

सम्बन्धिशब्दैर्वा तुल्यम् (under I 1 71)

and from *nyāyas* based on *Dharmaśāstra* like

गुरुवद्गुरुपुत्रे (under स्थानिवदादेशोऽनल्विधौ I 1·56)

धर्मशास्त्रं च तथा (under स्वरूपाणामेकशेष एकविभक्तौ I 2·64) etc.

He is the author of the following *paribhāṣās*

(1) उपपदविभक्तेः कारकविभक्तिर्बलीयसी (under II 3·19,
(Case-relation of a noun to the verb is stronger than that to another word in the sentence).

(2) प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणम् (under IV 1 1)
(Mention of a stem includes the stem formed by adding the gender-affix to it).

(3) अननुबन्धकग्रहणे न सानुबन्धकस्य ग्रहणम् (under IV-1 15
(Mention of one without इन् does not include the same with इन्)

(4) संनिपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्य (under I 1-39)
(Rule bringing out the combination of two things never destroys it.)

(5 यस्मिन्विधिस्तदादावल्ग्रहणे (under I 1 72)
(If a letter in the locative case qualifies another word in the locative, the former should be taken as the initial letter of the latter).

He exclaims the authority of grammar that it enjoins the correct usage of words through such expressions as

साध्वनुशासनेऽस्मिन् (under I-1-44)

सदन्वाख्यानाच्छास्त्रस्य (under I-1 62)

1. *Cf. Gautamadharmasūtra* I-2-37-8.

वचनप्रामाण्यात् (under VIII-2-1)

This clearly shows the high regard *Kātyāyana* had towards *Pāṇini*.

He tells us that *Pāṇini* makes use of the *saṃjñā* from the previous grammar *Āpiśalam*[1] and mentions वाजप्यायन व्याडि[2] and पौष्करसादि[3] who are not mentioned by *Pāṇini*.

He shows that in certain cases, the *sūtras* may be split in a different way. From this he clearly informs us that they were studied in *Saṃhitā* form and they were taught how to split it into different *sūtras* by the teachers. Since *Kātyāyana* suggests *yogavibhāga* in many places, it is quite possible that he should have lived long after the time of *Pāṇini*. His knowledge of Southern India made him modify *Kambojālluk* (IV-1-175) into *Kambojādibhyo luk* to include the Chola country.

He gives us room to infer from his statement सर्वस्य वा चेतनावत्त्वात् under the *sūtra* धातोः कर्मणः (III-1-7) and *Kaiyaṭa's* commentary आत्माद्वैतदर्शनेन and *Nāgojibhaṭṭa's* gloss सर्वत्र परिणामदर्शनेन चेतनाधिष्ठानं विना न च तद्संभवात्सर्वस्य तदधिष्ठितत्वं ज्ञायते that he was an *advaitin* and his expression वचनप्रामाण्यात् under II-1-1 shows that he considered the शब्दप्रमाण to be most powerful.

In the discussion on समर्थः पदविधिः (II-1-1) there is a sentence वार्तिककारवचनप्रामाण्यात्. Its other reading is वार्तिकवचनप्रामाण्यात्. *Kaiyaṭa* having taken the former reading says thus:—

न च वचनस्यापि वार्तिकत्वात् वार्तिककृता स्वीयवचनम् कथं प्रमाणत्वेनाश्रयणमिति शङ्क्य वार्तिकत्वाद्नुपपन्नमिति वाच्यम्। अन्योऽयं वार्तिककारो वार्तिककारान्तरीयमेतद्वचनं प्रमाणान्तरत्वेनाश्रयतीत्यदोषात्.

1 पूर्वसूत्रनिर्देशो वा आपिशलमधीत इति (under IV-1-14)

2 द्रव्याभिधानं व्याडिः (under I-2-64).

3 चयो द्वितीयाः शरि पौष्करसादेः (under VIII-4-48)

4 Keilhorn's edition

But since सिद्धं तु काङ्क्ष्यादिषु गतिवचनात्प्राश्रयः कार्यः is found as a *vārttika* under the *sūtra* कुगतिप्रादयः (II 2 18), the statement of *Nāgojibhaṭṭa* needs revision and it is better to take the second reading and to interpret that one *vārttika* mentioned elsewhere is stated in support of another *vārttika*. Hence it is not safe to infer that *Kātyāyana* referred to another *Vārttikakāra*.

Patañjali's statements वार्त्तिकसूत्रिकः साङ्ग्रहसूत्रिकः and सवार्त्तिकः ससङ्ग्रहः under क्रतूक्थादिसूत्रान्ताट्ठक् IV 2 60 suggest that *Kātyāyana* and *Vyāḍi* were contemporaries, that they respectively wrote *Vārttika* and *Saṅgraha*, that *Pāṇini's sūtras* were studied along with *vārttikas* and *Saṅgraha* and that *Patañjali* made use of both in his *Mahābhāṣya*.[1]

The *vārttika*:

नाम च धातुजमाह निरुक्ते व्याकरणे शकटस्य च तोकम्

under उणादयो बहुलम् (III 3 1) shows that the *Vārttikakāra* wrote his *vārttika* after *Yāska* wrote his *Nirukta*.

The *vārttika*:

भूवादीनां वकारोऽयं मङ्गलार्थः प्रयुज्यते

shows that the practice of doing मङ्गल to see that one's work is completed without impediment was prevalent before *Vārttikakāra's* time.

The *sūtra* एच इग्घ्रस्वादेशे (I 1 48) is found stated to be unnecessary by the *Vārttikakāra* on the strength of the point एङः सस्थानत्वात् and ऐचोश्चोत्तरभूयस्त्वात्. Under the *sūtra* प्लुतावैच इदुतौ (VIII-2 106) he gives the *vārttika* सिद्धं तु इदुतोर्दीर्घवचनात्. Since this is possible in the opinion of *Patañjali* only when मात्राऽवर्णस्य

1 सङ्ग्रहे एतत्प्राधान्येन परीक्षितं नित्यो वा स्यात्कार्यो वेति। तत्रोक्ता दोषाः प्रयोजनान्यप्युक्तानि। तत्र त्वेष निर्णयो यद्येव नित्यो अथापि कार्य उभयथापि लक्षणं प्रवर्त्यमिति and सङ्ग्रहे तावत्कार्यप्रतिद्वन्द्विभावान्मन्यामहे नित्यपर्यायवाचिनो ग्रहणमिति (*Paspaśāhnika*)

मात्रावर्णविपर्ययौ. *Nāgojibhaṭṭa* says that *Kātyāyana* is inconsistent.[1] It may be noted that it is the *Taittirīyaprātiśākhya* that says

> अकारार्धमैकारौकारयोरादिः (I-26)
>
> इकारोऽध्यर्धः पूर्वस्य शेषः, उकारस्तूत्तरस्य (I-28)

while *Śuklayajurvedaprātiśākhya* says

> ऐकारौकारयोः कण्ठ्या पूर्वा मात्रा तालव्योष्ठ्योरुत्तरा I-73

The *vārttikas* सिद्धे शब्दार्थसम्बन्धे and आदित्यवत्सु found in *Paspaśāhnika* and *Pratyāhārāhnika* have parallels in the *Jaiminīya sūtras* औत्पत्तिकस्तु शब्दस्यार्थेन सम्बन्धः (I-1-5) and आदित्यवद् यौगपद्यम् (I-1-15). These along with the *vārttika* आम्नायशब्दानामान्यभाव्यं स्वरवर्णानुपूर्वीदेशकालनियतत्वात् under V-2-59 suggest that it is possible that *Kātyāyana* lived after *Jaimini*. And *Sūtras* like न धातुलोप आर्धधातुके, दीधीवेवीटाम्, नाज्झलौ, एच इग्घ्रस्वादेशे are found unnecessary by *Kātyāyana*. It has already been stated that *Kātyāyana* made his contribution to the *Gaṇapāṭha*. He was, perhaps, aware of the science of medicine since he says

> तस्य निमित्तप्रकरणे वातपित्तश्लेष्मभ्यः शमनकोपनयोरुपसंख्यानम्

under V-1-38.

PATAÑJALI.

HIS LIFE

Bhartṛhari, in his *Vākyapadīya*, says that it is through grammar one learns the correct words, that the knowledge of grammar leads one to *Mokṣa*, that grammarians became so lazy as to need short cuts in grammar and that, consequently, the *saṃgraha* was not studied, that *Patañjali*, the great, composed the *Mahābhāṣya* bristling with the worldly maxims, that its study became limited to a narrow circle, that it existed in a book-form among *Dākṣiṇātyas*, that the

[1] एवम् वार्त्तिककारस्य पूर्वापरविरोध (*Uddyota* under VIII-2-106)

Ācārya Candra, at the request of *Abhimanyu*, the king of *Kashmir*, learnt it under *Parvata*, and popularised its study in *Kashmir*.[1] He suggests that *Patañjali* was the author of treatises on *Yoga* and medicine[2] and others express it plainly.[3]

1. तत्त्वावबोधः शब्दानां नास्ति व्याकरणादृते । (*Vākyapadīya* I. 13)
   तद्द्वारमपवर्गस्य वाङ्मलानां चिकित्सितम् । (*ibid* I. 14)
   प्रायेण संक्षेपरुचीनल्पविद्यापरिग्रहान् ।
   सम्प्राप्य वैयाकरणान् संग्रहेऽस्तमुपागते । (*ibid* II. 484)
   कृतेऽथ पतञ्जलिना गुरुणा तीर्थदर्शिना ।
   सर्वेषां न्यायबीजानां महाभाष्ये निबन्धने । (*ibid* II. 485)
   यः पतञ्जलिशिष्येभ्यो भ्रष्टो व्याकरणागमः ।
   काले स दाक्षिणात्येषु ग्रन्थमात्रे व्यवस्थितः । (*ibid* II. 488)
   पर्वतादागमं लब्ध्वा भाष्यबीजानुसारिभिः ।
   स नीतो बहुशाखत्वं चन्द्राचार्यादिभिः पुनः । (*ibid* II. 489)
   [illegible] (*Rājataraṅgiṇī* I. 174)
   चन्द्राचार्यादिभिर्लब्ध्वादेशं तस्मात्तदागमम् ।
   प्रवर्तितं महाभाष्यं स्वं च व्याकरणं कृतम् ॥ (*ibid* I. 176)
   Abhimanyu lived about 100 B. C. (Dr. [illegible]) He lived between 40 and 65 A. D. (Professor Lassen.)
2. कायवाग्बुद्धिविषया ये मलाः समवस्थिताः ।
   चिकित्सालक्षणाध्यात्मशास्त्रैस्तेषां विशुद्धयः । (*Vākyapadīya* I. 148)
3. पातञ्जलमहाभाष्यचरकप्रतिसंस्कृतैः ।
   मनोवाक्कायदोषाणां हर्त्रेऽहिपतये नमः ॥ (*Carakasaṃhitā Cakrapāṇidattavyākhyā* I. 1)
   अनन्तश्चिन्तयामास रोगोपशमकारणम् ।
   सञ्चिन्त्य स स्वयं तत्र मुनेः पुत्रो बभूव ह ॥
   यतश्चर इवायातो न ज्ञातः केनचिद्यतः ।
   तस्माच्चरकनाम्नासौ विख्यातः क्षितिमण्डले ॥
   आत्रेयस्य मुनेः शिष्या अग्निवेशादयोऽभवन् ।
   मुनयो बहवस्तैश्च कृतं तन्त्रं स्वकं स्वकम् ॥
   तेषां तन्त्राणि संस्कृत्य समाहृत्य विपश्चिता ।
   चरकेणात्मनो नाम्ना ग्रन्थोऽयं चरकः कृतः ॥ (*Bhāvaprakāśa* in the introduction to *Hemarāja's Kāśyapasaṃhitā*)
   आप्तो नाम अनुभवेन वस्तुतत्त्वस्य कार्त्स्न्येन निश्चयवान् ।
   रागादिवशादपि नान्यथावादी यः स इति चरके पतञ्जलिः (*Nāgojibhaṭṭa* in *Vaiyākaraṇasiddhāntamañjūṣā* p. 12.)
   योगसूत्रे पतञ्जल्युक्तेः (*Nāgojibhaṭṭa* in the last *adhikaraṇa* of *Paspaśā* in *Mahābhāṣya*).

But there are also others who think that *Patañjali*, the author of the *Yogasūtra* is different from *Patañjali*, the author of the *Mahābhāṣya*.[1]

I-tsing, the Chinese traveller, writes "There is a commentary on the *vṛtti sūtra* entitled *cūrṇi* containing 24,000 ślokas. It is a work of the learned *Patañjali*. This again cites the former sūtras (*Pāṇini*) explaining the obscure points and analysing the principles contained in it and it illustrates the later commentary (*vṛtti*) clearing up many difficulties. Advanced scholars learn it in three years.[2]

Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita, in his *Patañjalicarita* says thus: *Goṇikā*, the daughter of a *muni* gave *arghya* to Sun god praying for a son. *Śeṣa*, the lord of serpents, fell in her hand in the form of a sage. He then prayed to *Śiva* at Chidambaram to enable him to write a *bhāṣya* on the *vārttikas* of *Kātyāyana*. He granted it. Thousands of pupils went to him to learn his *bhāṣya*. He agreed to teach them on condition that he would hang a curtain between him and them and they should never meddle with it. So did the instruction go for some time. Once wondering at the way he answered their questions, they threw aside the curtain. He cursed them at once. One of them was then absent. Though he was cursed for having gone away in the middle without performing *uttaraśānti*, he, after his repeated request, was informed that he would be freed from the effect of the curse after teaching

1 [illegible] (*Vācaspatya*)
[illegible]
[illegible] (*Śabdakalpadruma*)
[illegible]
[illegible] (*Patañjalicarita* by *Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita* V-25).

2 *Cf.* A record of the Buddhist religion by I-tsing and translated by J. Takakusu p. 178. Prof. Max Müller points out that *Patañjali* is called *cūrṇikṛt* or *cūrṇikāra* by *Bhartṛhari*.

Mahābhāṣya to him who would answer correctly that the past passive participle of पच् is पक्व. *Candragupta* who came from *Ujjayini* gave him the answer and he was taught the work. His son by a *śūdra* wife was *Bhartṛhari*. He wrote *Vākyapadīya*, *Bhaṭṭikāvya* and the *śatakas* of *nīti*, *śṛṅgāra* and *vairāgya*. *Kaiyaṭa* takes the epithet गोनर्दीय to refer to *Patañjali* and *Nāgojibhaṭṭa* mentions that गोणिका-पुत्र was taken to refer to *Patañjali*. The word गोनर्दीय, *Haridīkṣita* says in *Bṛhacchabdaratna*, refers to *Vārttikakāra*. It

1 [illegible] II 7 [illegible]

[illegible] पतनीति विस्मयेन । [illegible]

[illegible]

इति [illegible]

[illegible] किं रूपं पचेर्निष्ठि त्वं कृपया पृच्छ । [illegible]

[illegible] V 31) etc

2 गोनर्दीयस्त्वाह [illegible] भाष्यकारस्त्व [illegible] (M [illegible] on आद्यन्तवदेकस्मिन् I i 21)

3 गोणिकापुत्र [illegible] भाष्यकार इत्याहुः (M [illegible] on अकथितं च I-4-51).

occurs four times in the *Mahābhāṣya* under the *sūtras* आद्यन्तवदेकस्मिन् (I-1-21), न बहुव्रीहौ (I-1-29), तत्रोपपदं सप्तमीस्थम् (III-1-92) and जरया जरसन्यतरस्याम् (VII-2-101).

In the first case when it is said that आद्यन्तवद्भाव need not be mentioned in the *vārttika* अपूर्वानुत्तरलक्षणत्वादाद्यन्तयोः सिद्धमेकस्मिन्, the expression गोनर्दीयस्त्वाह 'सत्येतस्मिन् त्वन्यस्मिन्निति' 'सति त्वन्यस्मिन् . . . ' is the first *vārttika* under the *sūtra*. Hence the *vārttika* 'अपूर्वे . . . ' should be taken to belong to one who is other than the author of the *vārttika* "सति तु . . . ". If the first *vārttika* belongs to *Kātyāyana*, गोनर्दीय should refer to him alone. If the *vārttika* 'अपूर्वे . . .' is taken to belong to him, गोनर्दीय should refer to another *Vārttikakāra*. A doubt may arise whether *Patañjali* quotes any *vārttika* belonging to any *Vārttikakāra* other than *Kātyāyana* at the commencement of the discussion on any *sūtra*. The *vārttika*

स्थानिविधिः पुनरेवं यद्यविशेषेण किं कृतं भवति ।
न ह्यपुनरुक्ते इति ब्रुवता कात्यायनेनेह ॥ under the *sūtra* ल्यट् से seems to belong to the *Ślokavārttikakāra* since mention is made here of *Kātyāyana*. In any case it seems that it cannot refer to *Bhāṣyakāra*. In the second case when it is said that, on the authority of the *sūtra* न बहुव्रीहौ, only the forms त्वत्कपितृकः and मत्कपितृकः can be taken to be correct, we find गोनर्दीयस्त्वाह "अकच्स्वरौ तु कर्तव्यौ प्रत्यङ्गं मुक्तसंशयौ". Here too it is better to take गोनर्दीय to refer to *Kātyāyana* or another *Vārttikakāra*. It deserves to be noted that the author of the *Kāśikā* has not mentioned the forms त्वकत्पितृकः and मकत्पितृकः and consequently has not recognised the statement अकच्स्वरौ तु कर्तव्यौ प्रत्यङ्गं मुक्तसंशयौ, which gives room to infer that गोनर्दीय here may refer to a *Vārttikakāra* other than *Kātyāyana*.

In the third case when it is said that there will be no authority sanctioning the correctness of the word काशकटीकारम्

n. the sentence इच्छाम्यहं काशकटीकारम् we find इष्टमेवैतद्गोनर्दीयस्य Here too there is no harm if गोनर्दीय is taken to refer to a *Varttikakara* other than *Katyayana* and not to *Bhasyakara*.

In the fourth case when it is said that the forms अतिजरसम् and अतिजरैः have no authority sanctioning their correctness, it is said गोनर्दीय आह 'इष्टमेवैतत् संगृहीतं भवति'. Here too the same thing may hold good as in the third case.

Taking all this into consideration, it seems to me that गोनर्दीय refers to a *Varttikakara* of the Eastern school.

There is another argument also which may lend support to this. *Vatsyayana*, in his *Kamasutra* quotes गोनर्दीय on five occasions and गोणिकापुत्र on eight occasions. On one such occasion while dealing with the nature of *vaisikas* he says

अन्यकारणवशात् परपरिगृहीतापि पाक्षिकी चतुर्थीति गोणिकापुत्रः.

I-5-5.

उत्क्रान्तबाल्यभावा कुलयुवतिरुपचारान्यत्वात् अगम्येति गोनर्दीय

I-5-25

When the number of *vaisikas* according to *Gonikaputra* is four and that, according to *Gonardiya*, it is eight, it is not possible for both to be one and the same person. It then follows that both the epithets cannot refer to one person, *Patanjali*. Besides it is not generally known that *Patanjali* wrote any treatise on *Kamasastra*. It is safer therefore to conclude that both *Gonikaputra* and *Gonardiya* do not refer to him.

If it is decided that *Gonardiya* does not refer to *Patanjali*, the statement that he is an Eastern grammarian cannot stand, as also the statement that *Katyayana* also belonged to the Eastern country. *Parbhatacandra Cakravarti's*

1 *Cf. Panini* : His place in Sanskrit Literature p. 181

opinion that he is a Southerner needs revision. There are strong reasons to believe that *Patañjali* should have studied under the pupil descendants of *Katyāyana*.

It has already been stated that many *sūtras* of *P*[illegible] are discussed by *Kātyāyana* in the form of *adhikaraṇas*. To find out which of the *vārttikas* are *pūrvapakṣa* and which of them are *siddhānta* is not very easy. It can be easily done if it was handed down from teacher to pupil. In many places [illegible] यथा लौकिकवैदिकेषु, यथा लोके, लोकवत्, लोकविज्ञानात्सिद्धम् [illegible] धर्मशास्त्रं च तथा etc. Unless it was handed down from teacher to pupil, the applications of [illegible] could hardly be easily known. A cursory study of the *Mahābhāṣya* will convince any one that *Patañjali* should have studied under *Kātyāyana*'s disciples or their disciples.

The range of personal knowledge of geography of India extends to Kashmir on the north, *Pāṭaliputra* in the east and [illegible] on the south. He mentions that [illegible] is a [illegible] country, that [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] which he mentions there [illegible]

1 [illegible] Vol. II p. [illegible]

2 [illegible] (M. B. under III-3-133) etc.

[illegible] (M. B. under IV-3-[illegible])

आपाटलिपुत्रं वृष्टो देवः (M. B. under II-4-83.)

अनुशोणं पाटलिपुत्रम् (M. B. under II-1-16.)

पाटलिपुत्राद्[illegible] (M. B. under II-3-28.)

4 [illegible] (M. B. under [illegible] III-1-26)

5 M. B. under [illegible] (IV-2-104.)

50 miles north west of कान्यकुब्ज. *Kampilya* also is a place near to it. He states that the distance from *Gavidhuman* to *Sankasya* is four *yojanas*; *Gavidhuman* is modern Kundarkot. *Saurya* and *Jambava* are two cities and *Kekarata* and *Saubhika* are two villages mentioned under the *sutra* विशिष्टलिङ्गो नदीदेशोऽग्रामाः II 4 7. *Srughna* also is a village. *Mathura*, *Saketa*,[4] *Kanyakubja*, *Hastinapura*, *Varanasi* are the cities which are mentioned by him. Most of them are in *Madhyadesa*. The word निष्कौशाम्बि is used more than once. *Kausambi* is an old village on the left bank of the Jumna about 30 miles to the west of the Allahabad. The two villages *Kekarata* and *Saubhika* are perhaps near *Kausambi*. The rivers that he mentions are the Ganges, the Jumna, the *Son* and the *Rathasya*. The word काञ्चीपुरक is used under the *sutra* अत्रयात्स्य, it means the resident of *Kancipura*. If this refers to the present city under that name in the Madras Presidency, it seems that it is the only city in Dekkan that is mentioned by him. The provinces that he refers to are *Gandhara*, *Kasmira* [illegible]

1 M. B. under अपादाने पञ्चमी (II-3-28.)

2 [illegible] M. B. under [illegible] I [illegible] 25

3 M. B. under the *sutra* [illegible] II 2 [illegible]

4 एषां पन्थाः साकेतमुपतिष्ठते (ibid.)

5 [illegible] (M. B. under [illegible] IV 1 79)

6 [illegible] (M. B. under [illegible] I 1 [illegible])

7 अनुगङ्गं वाराणसी (ibid).

8 निष्कान्त कौशाम्ब्याः निष्कौशाम्बि under *sutras* [illegible] II 2 18 आकडारादेका संज्ञा (I-4-1) etc.

9 Geographical Dictionary by Dey.

10 गान्धारी (M. B. under IV-1-14).

11 काश्मीरराजः (M. B. under IV-1-1).

Pañcanada,[1] *Avanti*, *Kunti*,[2] *Kuru*,[4] *Madra*,[5] *Pañcāla*,[6] *Videha*,[7] *Kosala*,[8] *Kāśi*,[9] *Vidarbha*,[10] *Aṅga*,[11] *Vaṅga*,[12] *Trigarta*,[13] *Surāṣṭra*, *Kāmboja*,[14] and *Kerala*.[15]

Patañjali tells us that brahman women studied the grammars of *Āpiśali* and *Kāśakṛtsna*[16] and a cave was called *Kiṣkindhā*.[17]

Patañjali's knowledge of medicine is seen from the following:

(1) दधित्रपुसं प्रत्यक्षो ज्वरः नड्वलोदकं पादरोगः आयुर्वै घृतम् (M. B. under I-1-58 and VI-1-32).

(2) मूत्राय कल्पते यवागूः उच्चाराय कल्पते यवान्नम् (M. B. under II-3-13).

(3) अतीसारो व्याधिः (M. B. under III-3-17).

His knowledge of architecture is seen from the following:

(1) कृतश्मश्रुश्च पुनः श्मश्रूणि कारयति (M. B. under VI-1-127).

1 पञ्चानां नदानां समाहारः पञ्चनदम् (M. B. under IV-1-88)
पार्थः पञ्चनदे देशे बहुधान्यधनान्विते ।
[illegible] (Karnaparvan V 38-12)

2, 3 & 4 (M. B. under I-2-49)

5 मद्रराजः (M. B. under IV-1-1).

6 पञ्चालांश्चरति (M. B. under III-2-16)

7 वैदेहः (M. B. under I-4-1).

8 & 9 काशिकोसलीया (M. B. under IV-1-54)

10 वैदर्भः (M. B. under I-4-1)

11 & 12 आङ्गकः वाङ्गकः (M. B. under IV-3-120)

13 [illegible] (M. B. under VIII-1-5)

14 *Cf.* *Paspaśāhnika*.

15 M. B. under कम्बोजाल्लुक्.

16 आपिशलमधीते ब्राह्मणी आपिशला ब्राह्मणी . . काशकृत्स्नीमधीते काशकृत्स्ना ब्राह्मणी (M. B. under IV-1-13)

17 M. B. under VI-1-157

(2) शिल्पिविशेषाख्या (M. B. under I-2-9)

(3) शिल्पिनः उत्पाद्यमानाः द्रव्यान्तरेण प्रक्षालयन्ति (M. B. under V-3-55).

His wide knowledge of the world is patent from the following:—

(1) कश्चित् कान्तारे समुपस्थिते सार्थमुपादत्ते; स यदा निष्क्रान्तकान्तारो भवति तदा सार्थं जहाति (M. B. under I-1-74)

(2) पाञ्चाला जनपदः सुभिक्षः सम्पन्नपानीयः बहुमाल्यफलः (*ibid* I-2-52).

(3) बदरी सूक्ष्मकण्टका मधुरा वृक्षः (*ibid*)

(4) समाने रक्ते वर्णे गौर्लोहित इति भवति अश्वः शोण इति; समाने च काले वर्णे गौः कृष्ण इति भवति अश्वो हेम इति; समाने च शुक्ले वर्णे गौः श्वेत इति भवति अश्वः कर्क इति (*ibid* I-2-71) and (II-2-29).

(5) गावः उत्कालितपुंस्का वाहाय च विक्रयाय च (*ibid*).

(6) साङ्काश्यकेभ्यः पाटलिपुत्रका अभिरूपतराः (*ibid* I-3-11 etc.)

(7) योऽयं दुर्बलः सन् बलवद्भिः सह भारं वहति (*ibid*)

(8) साङ्काश्यकेभ्यश्च पाटलिपुत्रकेभ्यश्च माथुरा अभिरूपतराः (*ibid* V-3-57)

(9) ग्रामादागच्छन् कांस्यपात्र्यां पाणिनौदनं भुङ्क्ते (*ibid* I-4-24)

(10) गोमयाद्वृश्चिको जायते, गोलोमाविलोमभ्यो दूर्वा जायन्ते (*ibid* I-4-30).

(11) कश्चित् कंचिदामन्त्रयते 'सिद्धं भुज्यताम्' इति । स आमन्त्र्यमाण आह 'प्रभूतं भुक्तमस्माभिः' इति । आमन्त्र्यमाण आह 'दधि खलु भविष्यति, पयः खलु भविष्यति' इति । आमन्त्र्यमाण आह 'दध्ना खलु भुञ्जीय, पयसा खलु भुञ्जीय' इति (*ibid* I-4-49)

(12) इह य एष मनुष्यो दुःखार्तो भवति सोऽन्यानि दुःखान्यनुनिशम्य विषभक्षणमेव ज्यायो मन्यते । (*ibid* I-4-50).

(13) भिक्षुकोऽयं द्वितीयां भिक्षां समासाद्य पूर्वां न जहाति, सञ्चयायैव प्रवर्तते (*ibid* II-1-1).

(14) अवनते नकुला न चिरं स्थातारो भवन्ति (*ibid* II-1-47)

(15) लोहितशाल्मिमान् ग्रामः (*ibid* II-1-68)

(16) सर्वे मनुष्या अल्पेनाल्पेन महतो महतोऽर्थानाकाङ्क्षन्ति, एकेन माषेण शतसहस्रम् (*ibid*).

(17) स्मयमानमीक्षमाणानां श्राद्धीयमानानां च केचिदर्थं युञ्जन्ते अपरे न (*ibid* II-2-6 etc.)

(18) कील आहन्यमानः प्रतिकीलं निर्हन्ति (*ibid* II-2-6 etc.)

(19) स्वं नाम चतुर्भिः प्रकारैर्भवति क्रयणापहरणयाच्ञाविनिमयादिति (*ibid* II-3-50.)

(20) अनस्थिकाः क्षुद्रजन्तवः । अथवा येषां स्वं शोणितं नास्ति ते क्षुद्रजन्तवः etc. (*ibid* II-4-8).

(21) य एते ग्रामाः कर्मकरा नाम, तेऽपि स्वभूत्यर्थमेव प्रवर्तन्ते, भक्तं चैलं च लप्स्यामहे परिभाषाश्च न नो भविष्यन्ति इति । तथा य एते शिल्पिनो नाम तेऽपि स्वभूत्यर्थमेव प्रवर्तन्ते वेतनं च लप्स्यामहे, मित्राणि च नो भविष्यन्ति इति (*ibid* III-1-26)

(22) शयाना वर्धते दूर्वा... आसीनं वर्धते बिसम् (*ibid* III-2-126)

(23) कश्चिदर्थी शालिकलापं सतुषं सपलालमाहरति नान्तरीयकत्वात् । स यावदादेयं तावदादाय तुषपलालान्युत्सृजति (*ibid* III-3-18).

(24) भोगवानयं देश इत्युच्यते यस्मिन् गावः सस्यानि च वर्तन्ते (*ibid* V-1-9).

(25) अश्वोऽयं यश्चत्वारि योजनानि गच्छति, अश्वतरोऽयं योऽष्टौ योजनानि गच्छति (*ibid* V-3-55).

(26) इह समाने आयामे विस्तारे च पटस्य अन्योऽर्घो भवति काशिकस्य अन्यो माथुरस्य (*ibid*).

(27) पटुरयं ब्राह्मण इत्युच्यते यो लघुनोपायेनार्थान् साधयति, पटुकल्पोऽयमित्युच्यते यो न तथा साधयति (*ibid* V-3-67).

(28) लोके ईश्वर आज्ञापयति' ग्रामाद्ग्रामान्मनुष्या आनीयन्तां प्राग्ग्रहं ग्रामेभ्यो ब्राह्मणा आनीयन्तामिति येषु तत्र ग्रामेषु ब्राह्मणा न सन्ति न तदीयास्ततोऽन्यत आनयनं भवति । (ibid VI-1-2)

(29) शीतोदके संपृक्ते आमिश्रत्वान्न ज्ञायते कियच्छीतं कियदुदकम् इति. कस्मिन्नवकाशे शीतं कस्मिन्नवकाशे उदकमिति, एवं महाप्यामिश्रत्वान्न ज्ञायते का प्रकृतिः कः प्रत्ययः, कस्मिन्नवकाशे प्रकृतिः कस्मिन्नवकाशे प्रत्यय इति (ibid VI-1-9).

(30) लोके यो द्वयोस्तुल्यबलयोरेकः प्रेष्यो भवति स तयोः पर्यायेण कार्यं करोति. यदा तु तमुभौ युगपत्प्रेषयतो नानादिक्षु च कार्ये भवतस्तत्र यद्यसावविरोधार्थी भवति, तत उभयोर्न करोति (ibid VI-1-85)

(31) शतधारोऽयं मणिः (ibid VI-1-115)

(32) कश्चित् कंचित् तन्तुवायमाह अस्य सूत्रस्य शाटकं वय' (ibid II-1-51 etc.).

(33) गुरुणा शिष्यश्छत्रवच्छाद्यः शिष्येण च गुरुश्छत्रवत् परिपाल्यः (ibid IV-4-62).

(34) य आशु कर्तव्यानर्थांश्चिरेण करोति स उच्यते शीतक इति. यः पुनराशु कर्तव्यानर्थानाश्वेव करोति स उच्यते उष्णक इति (ibid V-2-72).

(35) नटानां स्त्रियो रङ्गगता यो यः पृच्छति कस्य यूयं कस्य यूयमिति तं तं तव तवेत्याहुः (ibid VI-1-2)

(36) अब्राह्मणमानय इत्युक्ते ब्राह्मणसदृश एवानीयते, नासौ लोष्टमानीय कृती भवति (ibid III-1-12 etc.)

(37) हरिद्रौ कुक्कुटस्य पादौ, काषायौ गर्दभस्य कर्णौ (ibid IV-2-2)

(38) अङ्गुलिना अपि दृश्यन्ते दारका भक्षयमाणाः (ibid VIII-1-8)

(39) द्वयो रक्तयोर्वस्त्रयोर्मध्ये शुक्लं वस्त्रं तद्गुणमुपलभ्यते (ibid I-2-30.)

(40) वाताय कपिला विद्युदातपायातिलोहिनी ।
पीता भवति सस्याय दुर्भिक्षाय सिता भवेत् ॥ (ibid II-3-13)

The following *nyāyas* and their applications also bear testimony to his knowledge of the world

(1) फलवता च नाम प्रयत्नेन भवितव्यम् (*Paspaśā*).

(Attempt should have its reward)

(2) यत्पुनरशिष्टाप्रतिषिद्धं नैव तद्दोषाय नाभ्युदयाय (*ibid*).

(That which is neither enjoined nor prohibited brings neither demerit if not done, nor merit if done)

(3) आम्राश्च सिक्ताः[1] पितरश्च प्रीणिताः (*ibid.* M. B. under VIII 2 3)

(Mango trees are watered and the manes are satisfied).

(4) योऽस्ति स भविष्यति (M. B. under अइउण्).

(That which exists in this world will make its appearance)

(5) समाने चार्थे शास्त्रान्वितोऽशास्त्रान्वितस्य निवर्तको भवति (*ibid* under ऋलृक्).

(Though both convey the same meaning, the grammatically correct word enables us to avoid the use of the incorrect one).

(6) सैषा महतो वंशस्तम्बाल्लट्वानुकृष्यते (*ibid*).

(This is like catching a tiny bird from a cluster of tall bamboos).

(7) यत्र क्रियमाणे न दोषस्तत्र कर्तव्यम् (M. B. under एओङ् etc.)

(Operation should take place where arises no harm)

(8) ब्राह्मणा भोज्यन्तां माठरकौण्डिन्यौ परिवेविषाताम् (*ibid* under हयवरट्).

(Let brahmans be fed and let *Māṭhara* and *Kauṇḍinya* serve).

(9) इतरेतराश्रयाणि च कार्याणि न प्रकल्पन्ते (*ibid* under I-1-1).

(Two inter-dependent things never happen).

1 तृप्ता is another reading *Pradīpa* under (VII 1-18)

(10) अतज्जातीयकं लोके व्यवधायकं भवति (*ibid* under I-1-7).
(Only a dissimilar thing can separate two similar things in the world).

(11) प्रासादवासिन्याय (*ibid* under I-1-8.)
(The *nyaya* of the resident on the top floor etc. The resident of both the top floor and the ground floor will be included both among the residents of the top floor and among those of the ground-floor.)

(12) न हि भिक्षुकाः सन्तीति स्थाल्यो नाधिश्रीयन्ते, न च मृगाः सन्तीति यवा नोप्यन्ते (*ibid* I-1-41, IV-1-… and VI-1-13.)
(Cooking is not avoided fearing the beggars nor is *grain* not sown fearing animals.)

(13) दधि ब्राह्मणेभ्यो दीयतां, तक्रं कौण्डिन्याय (*ibid* I-1-47, VI-1-2, VI-4-163 and VII-1-72.)
(Let curd be given to brahmanas and butter-milk to *Kaundinya*.)

(14) नष्टाश्वदग्धरथन्याय. (*ibid* I-1-51.)
(The *[illegible]* of the dead horse and the burnt chariot — when two chariots go on a race and if the horses of one fall dead and the other chariot is burnt down, the horse of the one chariot is yoked to the other unburnt chariot.)

(15) माषा न भोक्तव्या इत्युक्ते मिश्रा अपि न भुज्यन्ते (*ibid.*)
(If it is enjoined that black gram should not be eaten, the mixture of black gram with others too is not eaten.)

(16) यः शश्वत् प्रत्यङ्ग भवति, लभतेऽसौ तत्कार्याणि (*ibid* I-1-56.)
(The [illegible] man gets the work of the permanent man.)

(17) सामान्ये अतिदिश्यमाने विशेषो नातिदिष्टो भवति (*ibid.*)
(Application of general characteristics through analogy does not comprehend the special characteristics.)

(18) अभ्यन्तरो हि समुदायस्यावयवः (*ibid.*)
(Part is included in the whole.)

(19) एकेन यत्नेनोभयं लभ्यम् (*ibid* I-1-59.)

(Strike two birds at one shot.)

(20) अपि काकः श्येनायते ? (*ibid* I-2-45.)

(Can a crow become a kite ?)

(21) आम्रान् पृष्टः कोविदारानाचष्टे (*ibid.*)

(Being questioned about a square, you answer about a circle.)

(22) न हि गोधा सर्पन्ती सर्पणादहिर्भवति (*ibid* I-3-12.)

(Can a lizard become a serpent though with similar movement ?)

(23) अवयवे कृतं लिङ्गं समुदायस्य विशेषकं भवति यं समुदायं योऽवयवो न व्यभिचरति (*ibid* I-3-62 and III-1-5.)

(Mark on a limb becomes a differentiating factor of the whole if that limb is an inseparable element of the whole.)

(24) कृतो घटः घटाश्रयाणां कार्याणां निमित्तं भवति, न क्रियमाणः (*ibid* III-1-3).

(Pot made is the source of deeds relating to a pot and not a pot to be made).

(25) सन्नियोगशिष्टानामन्यतरापाये उभयोरप्यभावः (*ibid* IV-1-36 and V-1-88.)

(Injunction to two conjointly loses its hold when either disappears).

(26) यो हि भुक्तवन्तं ब्रूयान्मा भुक्था इति किं तेन कृतं स्यात् ? (*ibid* VI-1-37.)

(What is the use of asking one not to eat when he has already eaten ?)

(27) कुम्भीधान्यन्याय (*ibid* I [illegible] 7)

(*Nyaya* of pot-grain — 'He who has grain only in a pot can be called कुम्भीधान्य and not one who has grain elsewhere also).

(28) दण्डिन्याय (*ibid* VIII 2 93)

(*Nyāya* of man with a stick—whenever the man is referred to, he should have a stick in his hand.)

(29) अभिवर्धमानो गर्भः सर्वाङ्गपरिपूर्णो भवति (*ibid* VIII 2 106)

(Embryo, when it grows, grows on all sides)

Patañjali has also been pleased to frame and use the following *paribhāṣās* :—

(1) व्याख्यानतो विशेषप्रतिपत्तिर्न हि सन्देहादलक्षणम् (*Paspaśā* etc.)

(A *śāstraic* statement, if not clearly understood, should not be thrown away, but should be understood through commentaries)

(2) असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे (M. B. under षत्वतुकोः etc.)

(*Bahiraṅga-śāstra* is non-existent before an *antaraṅga-śāstra*)

(3) निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशा भवन्ति (*ibid* हयवरट्)

(*Ādeśas* replace only those that are mentioned)

(4) कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाषम् (*ibid* I 1 3).

(*Saṃjñā-sūtras* and *Paribhāṣā-sūtras* appear on the scene of operation).

(5) यथोद्देशं संज्ञापरिभाषम् (*ibid* I 1 11)

(*Saṃjñā-sūtras* and *Paribhāṣā-sūtras* operate without leaving their respective position)

(6) लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तयोः प्रतिपदोक्तस्यैव ग्रहणम् (*ibid* I 1 14 etc.)

(Word mentioned has preference to word got from *lakṣaṇa*)

(7) अर्थवद्ग्रहणे नानर्थकस्य ग्रहणम् (*ibid.*)

(If one conveys meaning in one way of interpretation and no meaning in another, the former has preference.)

(8) गौणमुख्ययोर्मुख्ये कार्यसंप्रत्ययः (*ibid* I 1 15)

(Operation should take place on the primary and not on the secondary one.)

(9) अर्थात् प्रकरणाद्वा कृत्रिमाकृत्रिमयोः कृत्रिमे कार्यसम्प्रत्ययः (*ibid* I-1-23 etc.)

(Action to proceed on the *kṛtrima* (newly made) and not on *akṛtrima* (natural) decided through meaning or context.)

(10) पुरस्तादपवादा अनन्तरान् विधीन् बाधन्ते नोत्तरान् (*ibid* I 1 28.)

(Rules of exceptions mentioned previously affect those that immediately follow them and not those which are further away.)

(11) अन्तरङ्गानपि विधीन् बहिरङ्गो लुग्बाधते (*ibid* I 1 29.)

(*Bahiranga* rule sometimes overrules *antaranga* rules.)

(12) भाव्यमानेन सवर्णानां ग्रहणं न (*ibid* I 1 69 etc.)

(A letter taught in a rule cannot refer to those homogeneous with it.)

(13) स्वरविधौ व्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवत् (*ibid* I 1 51.)

(Consonant is non-existent when rules concerning sonants operate.)

(14) नानुबन्धकृतमनेकाल्त्वम् (*ibid* I 1 55.)

(*Anubandha* is not a factor to decide polysyllabism.)

(15) सकृद्गतौ विप्रतिषेधे यद्बाधितं तद् बाधितमेव (*ibid* I 1 56.)

(When two rules conflict with each other, the one, defeated after its first operation, is defeated for ever.)

(16) वर्णाश्रये नास्ति प्रत्ययलक्षणम् (*ibid* I 1 58.)

(Rule relating to a suffix does not operate when a rule relating to a letter has to operate.)

(17) अन्यत्र वर्णग्रहणे जातिग्रहणं भवति (*ibid* I 2 41)

(Letters refer to genus except when rules relating to the number of syllables operate.)

(18) अनन्तरस्य विधिर्वा भवति प्रतिषेधो वा (*ibid* I 2 48 etc.)

(*Vidhi* (enjoining, or *pratiṣedha* (prohibition) refers to what is nearest.)

(19) नानुबन्धकृतमसारूप्यम् (*ibid* I-3 9).

(Likeness is not affected between two letters though they have different *anubandhas* attached to them).

(20) विकरणेभ्यो नियमो बलीयान् (*ibid* I

(*Niyama* rule is more powerful than conjugational signs.)

(21) तदेकदेशभूतं तद्ग्रहणेन गृह्यते (*ibid* I 1 13)

(Its part is meant to denote it.)

(22) अवयवविधौ सामान्यविधिर्न भवति (*ibid* I 2 3)

(General rule does not operate when rules for parts are enjoined.)

(23) कृद्ग्रहणे गतिकारकपूर्वस्यापि ग्रहणम् (*ibid* IV 1 48.)

(*Kṛt* affix denotes the word ending with it together with the *gati* or the noun denoting a case relation which may be prefixed to it).

(24) मध्येऽपवादाः पूर्वान्विधीन् बाधन्ते (*ibid* IV 1 55)

(Rules of exception in the middle affect those which precede)

Patañjali was aware of the different dialects of Sanskrit. He gives different readings in one *sūtra*.

1 [illegible] (*Paspaśā*).

2 [illegible] (M. B. under I 4 1)

He defines वृत्ति as परार्थाभिधानम् and classifies it into two

जहत्स्वार्था वृत्ति and अजहत्स्वार्था वृत्ति (M. B. under II-1-1.)

He mentions the nature of स्फोट in

स्फोट शब्द ध्वनि शब्दगुण (M. B. under I-1-70)

[illegible] स्फोट [illegible] स्फोटमात्र निर्दिश्यते (M. B. under [illegible])

He [illegible] as is seen from

[illegible] न विकल्प्यते (M. B. under IV-1-3)

[illegible] कृतो भवति [illegible]

[illegible] (ibid III-2-124.)

क्रिया [illegible] [illegible]नुमानगम्या (ibid III-2-115)

[illegible] (ibid IV-1-33.)

[illegible] (ibid I-3-9.)

शब्दप्रमाणका वयम् (ibid II-1-1 etc.)

He recognises that *Pāṇini's* grammar deals with words found in all *Vedas*.

(सर्ववेदपारिषदं हीदं शास्त्रम् M. B. under VI-3-14.)

He [illegible] all the four *Vedas*, *Dharmasutras*, [illegible], *Itihāsas*, *Purāṇas*, [illegible] [illegible] intimate knowledge of [illegible] and [illegible] are patent from the profuse [illegible] from them. It is elaborately dealt with by [illegible] in the Indian Historical Quarterly [illegible]. His mention of [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] and [illegible], [illegible], ऐतिहासिक, पौराणिक under IV-2-60 shows that before him *Itihāsas*, *Ākhyāyikas*, *Purāṇas* and [illegible] were studied by separate sets of people. His mention of [illegible] कंसं किल वासुदेवः under the question [illegible] इति किमर्थम्? under (III-2-111) tells us that he witnessed the story of [illegible] enacted before him. He also says [illegible], [illegible] under III-1-26. His statement [illegible] [illegible],

जानुका· [illegible]· under IV 3 104 throws light on the existence of *Kaṭhas* in his time. The conversation described between a *vaiyākaraṇa* and *sūta* under II 4 56 and the expression न [illegible] clearly tell us that Sanskrit was a spoken language and *Patañjali* makes his readers understand thro the conversation that the practice of telling इष्टि was prevalent before the time of *Patañjali*.

The expression कथं पुनरस्मिन् स इत्येतद्भवति? चतुर्भिः प्रकारैरस्मिन् स इत्येतद्भवति· तात्स्थ्यात् ताद्धर्म्यात् तत्सामीप्यात् तत्साहचर्यादिति under IV 1 48 and the expression किं ग्रास्य [illegible] स भाष्य [illegible]· । किं नाम·? । शिवभागवते [illegible] under [illegible] suggest that *Patañjali* was an *advaitin* and his [illegible] was *Śiva*.[1]

METHOD ADOPTED IN WRITING BHĀṢYA

Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita, Prof. Goldstücker, Prof. Kielhorn and others consider that *Mahābhāṣya* is a commentary on *Kātyāyana's Vārttikas*. But the author of [illegible] says, यत्र यत्र हि सूत्रपाठस्य वार्तिकस्य च महाभाष्य [illegible] प्रमाद [illegible] पाणिनीयाष्टाध्यायीग्रन्थ इति प्रदर्शयन् कात्यायनवार्तिकस्य [illegible] प्रथमुत्तमम्. From the table stated at [illegible] it can be seen that out of about 4000 *sūtras* found in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, about 1700 came to the purview of the *Mahābhāṣya*. Of them about 1200 have under them the *vārttikas*

1 *cf.* *Patañjali* seems to [illegible] ... [illegible] Quarterly II pp 271-271 [illegible] Antiquary Vol. XI [illegible]

2 [illegible] वार्तिकानामशेषाणां [illegible]
[illegible] ॥ [illegible]

Mahābhāṣya [illegible] the [illegible] on the *Vārttikas* of *Kātyāyana* and [illegible] on the other [illegible] *sūtras* of *Pāṇini* as called for on its own [illegible] (*Lectures* [illegible] in Sanskrit Literature p. 92.)

The *Mahābhāṣya* is, in the first instance, a commentary on *Kātyāyana's Vārttikas* (*Kātyāyana* and *Patañjali* p. 51.)

of one Vārttika, about 25 have under them the vārttikas of two or more Vārttikakāras and about 425 have no vārttikas but only bhāṣya (i.e.) about one fourth of the book deals with the interpretation of Bhāṣyakāra on the sūtras. Even in sūtras which have vārttikas[1] under them, there are certain [illegible] like तद्धितग्रहण in वृद्धिरादैच् which are Patañjali's own. Even [illegible] such as [illegible Devanagari] and [illegible Devanagari] have no vārttikas under them. Among 1700 sūtras which have vārttikas, the vārttikas under about 730 are simply explanatory. Patañjali's [illegible] commentary on the vārttikas, more than half of which are in the form of [illegible] and [illegible]. Whenever he differs from the opinion of the Sūtrakāra or Vārttikakāra, he expresses his views [illegible]. Patañjali always agrees with Vārttikakāra whenever they deal with the change of words morphologically and semantically. He sometimes refutes the amendment of Kātyāyana through the instrument of [illegible] introduced by Kātyāyana himself. He [illegible] his own iṣṭis and makes very good use of the devices discovered by Kātyāyana. The spirit of independent thought combined with keen critical acumen and consummate scholarship pervades the whole of the *Mahābhāṣya*.

DATE OF PATAÑJALI, KĀTYĀYANA AND PĀṆINI

From the expressions पुष्यमित्रो यजते under 3. 1. 26, पुष्यमित्रं याजयामः under 3. 2. 123, पुष्यमित्रसभा under 1. 1. 68, अरुणद्यवनः साकेतम् अरुणद्यवनो मध्यमिकाम् under 3. 2. 111 scholars like Dr Bhandarkar, Prof Goldstücker have considered that *Patañjali* should have been at the court of *Puṣyamitra* and lived at the time of Menander's invasion of *Sāketa* and hence could not have lived later than 150 B.C. *Kātyāyana's* date is considered to be about 350 B.C. *Pāṇini* is taken by

1. Vārtika and Vārtikakāra found in the earlier part of the book may be corrected to *Vārttika* and *Vārttikakāra*.
2. Cf. *Pāṇini* — His place in Sanskrit Literature p. 92

Prof. Max Muller and other scholars to be a contemporary of *Katyayana*, while Prof. Goldstucker thinks that he should have lived long before *Katyayana*. 150 B. C., 350 B. C. and 550 B. C. may, for the present, be taken as the approximate dates of *Patañjali*, *Katyayana* and *Panini*.

I express my heartfelt thanks to the Syndicate of the Annamalai University and to the two Vice-Chancellors Rai Bahadur K. V. Reddi Naidu Garu, K. C. I. E., and Mr. M. Ruthnaswami, C. I. E., for having permitted this publication. I offer my *pranamas* to my *acarya Mahamahopadhyaya* Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastriar for having gone through the Text and the Preface critically in spite of his weak health and for his Foreword. I am deeply indebted to *Śāstraratnākara* K. A. Sivaramakrishna Sastriar of the Sanskrit Department of this University for having gone through all the proofs and for having given me valuable suggestions. My thanks are also due to Sri R. Sathianatha Aiyar M. A., Lecturer in History who suggested to me to look into the observations of Chinese travellers on *Panini* and to Sri A. V. Nagaraja Sarma B. A., (Hon.) and Sri C. S. Venkateswaran B. A. (Hon.) of the Sanskrit Department of this University for having helped me in going through proofs.

May Lord *Nataraja* and Lord *Pasupatisa* enable me to complete the work I have undertaken—Lectures on the whole of the *Mahabhasya*!

Annamalainagar
1-7-1944

P. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI

LECTURES ON PATANJALI'S MAHĀBHĀṢYA

महाभाष्यं वा पठनीयं महाराज्यं वा पालनीयम्
ओं नमः पाणिनिकात्यायनपतञ्जलिमहर्षिभ्यो वंशगुरुभ्यो नमो गुरुभ्यः

INTRODUCTION

IT is now an accepted fact that Grammar follows Literature. The earliest Indian Literature is the Vedas. The Indians considered it their primary duty to preserve them intact. One of the means of preservation was the writing of Grammar and its study. *Cf.*

रक्षार्थं वेदानाम् अध्येयं व्याकरणम्. M. B. I. 1.

That there were nine systems of Grammar is evident from the verse

सोऽयं नवव्याकरणार्थवेत्ता ब्रह्मा भविष्यत्यपि ते प्रसादात्
(U. R. 36, 48).

wherein it is said that Hanuman, the minister of Sugrīva, had a mastery over nine treatises on Grammar. Of them Pāṇini's treatise seems to be the first since Hanuman is said to have studied *Saṅgraha*, an elaborate work written by *Vyāḍi* in hundred thousand verses based on Pāṇini's Grammar. *Cf.*

ससूत्रवृत्त्यर्थपदं महार्थं ससंग्रहं साध्यति वै कपीन्द्रः
(U. R. 36, 46).

A grammatical treatise by Indra is mentioned in tradition to have been the first of the nine; but such a treatise does

not seem to have been mentioned of in any work. The only reference to Indra's being connected with Grammar is found in Mahabhasya, where it is said that Indra attempted in vain to make a detailed study, in 1000 divine years, of all the words current, at the feet of the preceptor of the devas.

बृहस्पतिरिन्द्राय दिव्यं वर्षसहस्रं प्रतिपदोक्तानां शब्दानां शब्दपारायणं प्रोवाच, न चान्तं जगाम । बृहस्पतिश्च प्रवक्ता, इन्द्रश्चाध्येता, दिव्यं वर्षसहस्रम् अध्ययनकालः ॥*

(M. B. I. 1, 1).

The revered Panini wrote his work in *eight* chapters of *four* padas each in the form of sutras. Sutras are short sentences, unambiguous, clear and comprehensive. *Cf.*

अल्पाक्षरमसन्दिग्धं सारवद्विश्वतोमुखम् ।
अस्तोभमनवद्यं च सूत्रं सूत्रविदो विदुः ॥

The invaluable service done by Panini to Sanskrit can well be appreciated only by a close study of his work. The division of his work into two parts, the former comprising the first seven chapters and the first pada of the last and the latter, the last three padas of the last as a part by itself. The sutras of the latter part are said to be non-existent when those of the former part operate. *Cf.*

* It may be noted that (1) in the Foreword to Tolkāppiyam, the earliest extant Tamil Grammar, we find the statement '*[illegible]*' ([illegible]) and (2) under sutra 74 of Solladhikāram, [illegible] says '*[illegible]*' (*[illegible] called the vocative case, the eighth case*).

पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् (P. VIII 2, 1.)

His work was commented upon in an elaborate treatise consisting of 100000 verses, by Vyadi who was said by my revered guru to have been the grandson of Panini. It was named *Sangraha*. Unfortunately the work seems to have been lost. We get only stray references to it. *Cf.*

सङ्ग्रहे एतत्प्राधान्येन परीक्षितं नित्यो वा स्यात्कार्यो वेति ।
(M. B. I. 1, 1).

Later on, a large number of grammarians commented upon the sutras of Panini. Their works were called *Vartikas*. They have not only elucidated the views of Panini, but also added the explanation of words which became newly current in their times and rejected those that fell out of use. *Cf.*

उक्तानुक्तदुरुक्तानां चिन्ता यत्र प्रवर्तते ।
तं ग्रन्थं वार्तिकं प्राहुर्वार्तिकज्ञा मनीषिणः ॥

It is a sad feature that the names of all of them except one are not now known to us. He is *Katyayana* by *Gotra* and *Vararuci* by name. It is a matter for research whether he is himself the author of the Śrauta sutras, *Sarvanukramani* etc., or different from him.

Then came Patañjali who is believed by the *astikas* to have been the incarnation of Ādiśesa. He wrote his Mahabhasya which is an elaborate treatise dealing with discussions on many of the sutras of Panini and the vārtikas of the different Vartikakaras. It is not only a commentary on the sutras and the vartikas but also a critical treatise discussing on the necessity of the above sutras and vartikas. He shows that some of the sutras are not necessary and that their purpose is served by Jñāpakas. He sometimes

disagrees with the criticism of the Vartikakaras against Panini and establishes with forcible arguments the views of Pāṇini. *Cf.*

सूत्रार्थो वर्ण्यते यत्र वाक्यैः सूत्रानुसारिभिः ।
स्वपदानि च वर्ण्यन्ते भाष्यं भाष्यविदो विदुः ।

The method adopted by him in his arguments is very fine. He proves his point by analogy with *nyayas* current in the world.

When there are *bhasyas* for all Śastras, why should the bhasya of Vyakarana alone be called Mahabhasya? This question is answered by Bhartrhari and Punyaraja, the commentator on Bhartrhari's Vakyapadiya, that it is not only a treatise on Grammar, but also the fountain source of all *nyayas.*

कृतेऽथ पतञ्जलिना गुरुणा तीर्थदर्शिना ।
सर्वेषां न्यायबीजानां महाभाष्ये निबन्धने ॥ (V. II 485)

तत्र भाष्ये न केवलं व्याकरणस्य निबन्धनं यावत्सर्वेषां न्यायबीजानां बोद्धव्यमित्यत एव सर्वन्यायबीजहेतुत्वादेव महच्छब्देन विशेष्य महाभाष्यमित्युच्यते लोके
(P. II 485).

Nageśabhatta, the renowned author and veteran scholar of the seventeenth century answers the same question thus: It is not only a commentary, but also a criticism on the sutras and vartikas, wherein he gives his own views though they do not agree with those of the Sutrakara and Vartikakāras. *Cf.*

व्याख्यातृत्वेऽपि अस्य इत्यादिकथनेन अव्याख्यातृत्वात् इतरभाष्यवैलक्षण्येन महत्त्वम्
(M. B. I, 1, 1.)

The Mahabhasya was used to be read by orthodox Indian grammarians in the same way as the Vedanta-bhasyas. The *sloka* that was recited at the beginning was -

वाक्यकारं वररुचिं भाष्यकारं पतञ्जलिम् ।
पाणिनिं सूत्रकारञ्च प्रणतोऽस्मि मुनित्रयम् ॥
योगेन चित्तस्य पदेन वाचां मलं शरीरस्य च वैद्यकेन ।
योऽपाकरोत्तं प्रवरं मुनीनां पतञ्जलिं प्राञ्जलिरानतोऽस्मि ॥

From this it is evident that, according to tradition, Patañjali was the author of not only the Mahabhasya but also the Yogasutra and a work on Indian medicine

Some seem to doubt the identity of the author of the Yogasutra with that of Mahabhasya since Vyasa is said to be the commentator of the Yogasutra and he is identical with the author of the Vedantasutras. Since there is no conclusive proof for the identity of the two Vyasas, it may be taken that Vyasa, the commentator on the Yogasutra was different from the Badarayana Vyasa and the two Patañjalis are identical.

The study of the Mahabhasya was closed on the dvadasi with *Mangalapatha* (since Panini is believed to have left this world on the *trayodasi*) and commenced again on the *dvitiya*. On the mangalapatha day mustard and curd were offered to the three munis Panini, Vararuci and Patañjali.

The Sanskrit scholars had so much regard to Mahabhāsya that they said

महाभाष्यं वा पठनीयं, महाराज्यं वा पालनीयम्

पस्पशाह्निकम्

The sutras found in the *first* pāda of the first adhyāya of Panini's Astadhyayi are discussed along with the vartikas in nine *ahnikas*. The first *ahnika* is named *paspaśahnika*. This name should have been at least as old as the time of Magha since he mentions this in one of his verses in the Śiśupālavadha. *Cf:*

> अनुत्सूत्रपदन्यासा सद्वृत्तिः सन्निबन्धना ।
> शब्दविद्येव नो भाति राजनीतिरपस्पशा ॥ (Śi. II 112)

The word पस्पशा is derived from the root स्पश् which means to refute or to touch upon. This *ahnika* refutes the arguments of others and touches upon the preliminaries of the śastra. The second *ahnika* is named प्रत्याहाराह्निक since it deals with the *pratyahara* sutras अइउण्, ऋलृक्, एओङ्, etc. From the third *ahnika* onwards discussions on the sutras commencing with वृद्धिरादैच् are found.

The topics dealt with in the first *ahnika* are (1) the commencement of the *Sastra*, (2) the classification of words, (3) the definition of *Sabda*, (4) the use of the study of this sastra, (5) the method to be adopted in expounding the śastra, (6) the *nityatva* (eternity) or the *karyatva* (transitoriness) of sabda, (7) the need for the sastra on account of its expounding that correct words are needed for *Dharma*, (8) the meaning of the word व्याकरणम् and (9) the need for making use of the pratyahara sutras अइउण् etc., in this śastra.

I

अथ शब्दानुशासनम् । अथेत्ययं शब्दोऽधिकारार्थः प्रयुज्यते, शब्दानुशासनं नाम शास्त्रमधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् ॥

The expression 'अथ शब्दानुशासनम्' is a sutra like sentence of the Mahabhasyakara and it is explained by the following sentences

अथेत्ययं शब्दः अधिकारार्थः प्रयुज्यते शब्दानुशासनं नाम शास्त्रमधिकृतं वेदितव्यम्

It means 'the *Sabdanusasanam* commenceth.'. The *Sabdanusasanam* means the science wherein the derivation of words is explained.

What is the meaning of the word अथ here? Its meanings are stated by the author of Amarakosa thus:

मङ्गलानन्तरारम्भप्रश्नकार्त्स्न्येष्वथो अथ

Here it means आरम्भः (commencement). Then arises the question whether the word अथ *denotes* commencement or *suggests* it, i. e., in other words, whether the word अथ is आरम्भवाचक or आरम्भद्योतक. Kaiyata the author of the प्रदीप on महाभाष्य, and Bhattoji Diksita, the author of the Siddhanta-kaumudi, Manorama, Sabdakaustabha etc., hold the former view and Nagesabhatta, the author of the *Uddyota* on Mahabhasya holds the latter view. The authorities for Nagesa's view are the karika of Bhartrhari

निपाता द्योतकाः केचित्पृथगर्थाभिधायिनः ।
आगमा इव केऽपि स्युः सम्भूयार्थस्य वाचकाः ॥ (V. II 194)

and the भाष्य under the sutra

अव्ययं विभक्ति समीप .साकल्यान्तवचनेषु (P. II 1.6)

When the word अथ in 'अथातो धर्मजिज्ञासा', 'अथातो ब्रह्मजिज्ञासा' means आनन्तर्यम् (immediate succession), why should not the same word have the same meaning here? धर्मविचार invariably requires the knowledge of the Vedas and hence it

follows the study of the Vedas. Similarly ब्रह्मविचार must invariably be preceded by the possession of four requisites: नित्यानित्यवस्तुविवेकः (discriminating the eternal from the non-eternal), इहामुत्रार्थफलभोगविरागः (averseness from enjoyment here or elsewhere), शमदमादिसम्पत् (control of the senses etc.) and मुमुक्षुत्वम् (desire to be relieved of this bondage of mortal life). Hence अथ there has to be taken to mean 'immediate succession. But, on the other hand, the study of Grammar does not invariably need anything before it. One may doubt the veracity of this statement since the knowledge of Literature is considered necessary before one begins to study Grammar. Though it is right to think so, yet he should be made to remember that it is not always the case.

If the word अथ suggests commencement, one may think that it may be discarded since the word शब्दानुशासनम् alone may suggest it. This is answered by Kaiyata thus –

अनेकक्रियाविषयस्यापि शब्दानुशासनस्य आरभ्यमाणता अथशब्दसन्निधाने प्रतीयते

(The use of the word sabdanusāsanam alone may enable one to interpret it as sabdanuśasanam *srūyate*, *kriyate* etc.) The word अथ shows that it means शब्दानुशासनमारभ्यते. If one thinks that the above doubt may be cleared by the expression अधिकृतं in the विवरणभाष्य, he may be answered that the word अथ not only serves this purpose but also indicates another meaning.

It indicates auspiciousness (*mangala*). It has been the practice of Indian writers to invoke the blessings of God at the commencement of their work so that the work may see its end without any difficulty. This is done either by writing verses in the form of prayer or by using word or words that indicate it. Just as the sound of drums indicates

the marriage in a house, so also the word *atha* is taken to indicate the *mangala* since it is considered to be one of the two words that first emanated from the mouth of *Brahma*, the Creator. *Cf.*

ओंकारश्चाथशब्दश्च द्वावेतौ ब्रह्मणः पुरा ।
कण्ठं भित्त्वा विनिर्यातौ तस्मान्माङ्गलिकावुभौ ॥

The reason why Patañjali indicated *mangala* without definitely giving expression to it in the form of prayer may be that Panini, the Sutrakara and Vararuci, the Vartikakara have *indicated* mangala but not *expressed* it by the words वृद्धि and सिद्ध respectively in the first sutra वृद्धिरादैच् and the first vârtika

सिद्धे शब्दार्थसम्बन्धे लोकतोऽर्थप्रयुक्ते शब्दप्रयोगे शास्त्रेण धर्मनियमः

It was stated that the expression

अथेत्ययं शब्दोऽधिकारार्थः प्रयुज्यते, शब्दानुशासनं नाम शास्त्रमधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् is विवरणवाक्यम्. The word इति is used here so that the word *atha* here means the *word* and not its *meaning*. *Cf.*

इतिशब्दः पदार्थविपर्यासकृत्.

When one says रामः रावणं जघान, the word *Ramah* means the *person* Rama, but, on the other hand, if one says

राम इति तस्य नाम

the word Rama means the *word* Rama made up of the two letters रा and म.

Since Panini, the Sutrakara has stated in his sutra

स्वं रूपं शब्दस्याशब्दसंज्ञा (P. I. 1. 68)

(that in his work a word means its *form* and not its *meaning*) and since the Mahābhāṣya is a work on grammar, one may think that the word '*iti*' in the *vyākaraṇa bhāṣya* is not necessary. But Patañjali by his use of *iti* here suggests that Pāṇini's tenet

स्वं रूपं शब्दस्याशब्दसंज्ञा

does not hold good here.

The use of the word *ayam* after the word *iti* is to make the readers think of *atha* in the preceding sentence *atha śabdānuśāsanam* and not elsewhere as in *atha yogānuśāsanam*. Patañjali is not sparing in words. Though the word *śabda* is not necessary since the word *iti* suggests that *atha* denotes the word *atha*, he has used it so that it may be easily understood by the readers.

The word *atha* denotes commencement. The derivation of *śabdānuśāsanam* is *śabdānām anuśāsanam* and that of *anuśāsanam* is

अनुशिष्यन्ते, असाधुशब्देभ्यो विविच्य ज्ञाप्यन्ते, साधुशब्दा अनेन

The suffix *ana* in *śabdānuśāsanam* denotes instrument and hence the word *śabdānuśāsanam* means Grammar. The use of the sixth case in *śabdānām anuśāsanam* is on the authority of the sūtra

कर्तृकर्मणोः कृति (P. II. 3. 65)

and not उभयप्राप्तौ कर्मणि, since otherwise the samāsa *śabdānuśāsanam* would be prevented by the sūtra कर्मणि च.

Hence the sentence *atha śabdānuśāsanam* means 'the Grammar commenceth'. Its statement instead of *Vya-*

karmasastram arabhyate serves the following purposes: (1) *mangalam* is indicated by *atha* (2) *Sabda* is the *visaya* (topic for discussion) in this work (3) the knowledge of the derivation of *sabda* by the readers is the aim of this work and (4) those who are eager to learn Grammar are fit to study it.

Readers can completely comprehend the meaning of the sentence *atha sabdanusasanam* only if they are fully aware of the connotation and the denotation of the words which make it up. The meaning of *atha* has been explained by the Bhasyakara himself and the meaning of *anusasanam* is learnt from the meaning of the root *sas* which is found in the *dhatupatha* and the meaning of the suffix *ana* from the sutra.

करणाधिकरणयोश्च (P. III, 3, 117)

But neither the denotation nor the connotation of *sabda* is clear to the reader. Hence Mahabhasyakara goes to the next topic which deals with the classification of *sabda*.

II

केषां शब्दानाम्? लौकिकानां वैदिकानां च। तत्र लौकिकास्तावत्, गौरश्वः पुरुषो हस्ती शकुनिर्मृगो ब्राह्मण इति। वैदिकाः खल्वपि, शं नो देवीरभिष्टये, इषे त्वोर्जे त्वा, अग्निमीळे पुरोहितम्, अग्न आयाहि वीतये इति ॥

Of which *sabdas*? Of those current in the world and in the Vedas. Among them the *laukika sabdas* are गौः (cow), अश्वः (horse), पुरुषः (person), हस्ती (elephant), शकुनिः (bird), मृगः (deer), ब्राह्मणः (brahmana) etc. The *Vaidika sabdas* are शं नो देवीरभिष्टये [Let the waters bring us happiness (so that we may perform sacrifice)], इषे त्वोर्जे त्वा [(I cut) you for food and vitality], अग्निमीळे पुरोहितम् (I invoke Agni, the divine priest);

अग्न आयाहि वीतये । (Oh Agni, go over here to consume the oblations).

What is the need for this question केषां शब्दानाम्? Kaiyaṭa and Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa differ in their answer on this point. The former is of opinion that since the word *śabda* denotes not only the words of human speech but also cries of birds, animals etc., Mahābhāṣyakāra wants to inform the readers clearly that it denotes only speech-words here. In that case one may think that the answer मनुष्यशब्दानाम् would have been more appropriate. Had that answer been given, it may not make the readers understand clearly that *śabda* denotes Vaidika expressions also and it may even enable them to mistake that *śabda* denotes *apaśabdas* (incorrect expressions) also. Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa feels, on the other hand, that this question is intended to inform the readers that *śabda* here denotes not only the *laukika śabda* but also the *Vaidika śabda*, and thus enable them to understand that Pāṇini does not deal in his grammar only with *laukika śabdas* as in शाकटायनव्याकरणम्, nor only with *Vaidika śabdas* as in प्रातिशाख्य, but with both.

Since the Vedas form part of this world, the *Vaidika śabdas* form a part of the *laukika śabdas*. Then what is the need for the expression *Vaidikānām ca*? The need is felt since the author wants to give prominence to the *Vaidika śabda*. The expression *Vaidikānām ca* here is similar to the expression *Vasiṣṭhopi* in the sentence ब्राह्मणा आगताः वसिष्ठोऽप्यागतः (Brāhmaṇas have come and also *Vasiṣṭha*). The expression *Vasiṣṭhopi* does not preclude *Vasiṣṭha* from being a Brāhmaṇa, but suggests that he is the Brāhmaṇa of Brāhmaṇas. The *Vaidika śabdas* are considered to be more prominent than the *laukika śabdas*, since the latter should not be mispronounced *only in sacrifices* (याज्ञे कर्मणि) and the

former *Guṇa accent*. Or it may be taken that Mahābhāṣyakāra may have stated लौकिकानां वैदिकानां च similar to the statements of Pāṇini छन्दसि च (V. 1. 67), भाषायां सदवसश्रुवः (III. 2. 108)

The *laukika śabdas* are illustrated by गौः अश्वः etc. It is worthy of note that the list of words given by Yāska in his Nirukta commences with the same words.

सत्त्वनामधेयानि । गौर्ग्मा ज्मा क्ष्मेति । (N. I. 1)

The *Vaidika śabdas* are illustrated by the sentences शन्नो देवीरभिष्टये etc. This clearly shows that, in Vedas, the order of words should not be changed, that they should be pronounced with their respective *svaras* and that the sentence accent is more powerful than the word accent.

The four sentences mentioned above शन्नो देवीरभिष्टये, इषे त्वोर्जे त्वा, अग्निमीळे पुरोहितम्, अग्न आयाहि वीतये respectively represent the Atharvaveda, the Yajurveda, the Ṛgveda and the Sāmaveda. It may be a surprise to the Brahmins to see that the order is diverse, since they have been accustomed to repeat them in a different order while they perform their *Brahmayajña*. The order that they follow then is अग्निमीळे पुरोहितम्, इषे त्वोर्जे त्वा, अग्न आयाहि वीतये, शन्नो देवीरभिष्टये. Hence it is necessary to infer some reason or other for this inversion.

From Dharmaśāstras it is plain that those that are authorised to study the Vedas have to study all the Vedas. If this is not practicable, they are allowed to study at least one. *Cf.*

वेदानधीत्य वेदौ वा वेदं वापि यथाक्रमम् ।
अविप्लुतब्रह्मचर्यो गृहस्थाश्रममाविशेत् ॥ (M. III. 2)

It may also be noted that there were people who studied all the four Vedas in forty-eight years. *Cf.*

अष्टाचत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि पौराणं वेदब्रह्मचर्यम् (B. D. I. 2. 1)

அறுநான்கு இரட்டி இளமை நல்லியாண்டு
ஆறினிற் கழிப்பிய அறன்நவில் கொள்கை

மூன்றுவகைக் குறித்த முத்தீச் செல்வத்து
திரு. மு. (170—82)

If one is prepared to study all the Vedas the injunction

स्वाध्यायोऽध्येतव्यः

says that he should first study the Veda which was first studied by his forefathers. Otherwise he is said to become a sinner. *Cf.*

पारम्पर्यगतो येषां वेदः सपरिबृंहणः ।
तच्छाखाकर्म कुर्वीत तच्छाखाध्ययनं तथा ।
यः स्वशाखां परित्यज्य पारक्यमधिगच्छति ।
स शूद्रवद्बहिष्कार्यः सर्वकर्मसु साधुभिः ॥ (Y.)

Hence it seems to me that Mahabhasyakara studied the Atharvaveda first and then the Yajurveda, the Rgveda and the Samaveda. This is also supported by the fact that on another occasion when he says that students repeat the Vedas as taught to them without questioning the why of it, he mentions

ओमित्युक्त्वा वृत्तान्तशः शमित्येवमादीन् शब्दान् पठन्ति (M. B. I. 1. 1)

Mahāmahopādhyāya Paṇḍit Śivadatta D. Kudāla, the editor of the Mahābhāṣya which was published by Tukārāma Jāvajī writes in the foot-note under this portion that the Atharvaveda is mentioned first since the *Brahman*, one of the four principal priests in a sacrifice, is to be conversant with all the Vedas and he should know how to avert difficulties both from within and from without, for which the knowledge of the Atharvaveda is necessary. Since अध्वर्युः is mentioned immediately after *Brahman*, the Yajurveda is mentioned next and since the *Sāman* is based upon ऋक्, the Ṛgveda is mentioned next. He gives also an alternative explanation that the Atharvaveda is mentioned first since it is stated in *Muṇḍakopaniṣad* that the *Brahmā* first taught his eldest son *Atharvan*, the *Brahmavidyā*. Cf.

ब्रह्मा देवानां प्रथमः संबभूव विश्वस्य कर्ता भुवनस्य गोप्ता।
स ब्रह्मविद्यां सर्वविद्याप्रतिष्ठामथर्वाय ज्येष्ठपुत्राय प्राह ।

शन्नो देवीरभिष्टये which is generally stated to represent the Atharvaveda is only the first Ṛk of the sixth sūkta in the first *kāṇḍa* of the Atharvaveda, while

ये त्रिषप्ताः परियन्ति विश्वा रूपाणि बिभ्रतः ।
वाचस्पतिर्बला तेषां तन्वो अद्य दधातु मे ॥

happens to be the first Ṛk of the first sūkta in the Atharvaveda. I am unable to understand why **शन्नो देवीरभिष्टये** is preferred to **ये त्रिषप्ताः परियन्ति**, though **इषे त्वोर्जे त्वा**, **अग्निमीळे पुरोहितम्**, **अग्न आयाहि वीतये** are at the commencement of the Yajurveda, the Ṛgveda and the Sāmaveda respectively.

Having thus dealt with the denotation of the word *śabda*, Mahābhāṣyakāra begins to deal with its connotation.

III

अथ गौरित्यत्र कः शब्दः ? किं यत्तत्सास्नालाङ्गूलककुदखुरविषाण्यर्थरूपं स शब्दः ? नेत्याह, द्रव्यं नाम तत् । यत्तर्हि तदिङ्गितं चेष्टितं निमिषितमिति स शब्दः ? नेत्याह, क्रिया नाम सा । यत्तर्हि तत् शुक्लो नीलः कपिलः कपोत इति स शब्दः ? नेत्याह, गुणो नाम सः । यत्तर्हि तद्भिन्नेष्वभिन्नं छिन्नेष्वच्छिन्नं सामान्यभूतं स शब्दः ? नेत्याह, आकृतिर्नाम सा । कस्तर्हि शब्दः ? येनोच्चारितेन सास्नालाङ्गूलककुदखुरविषाणिनां सम्प्रत्ययो भवति स शब्दः ; अथवा प्रतीतपदार्थको लोके ध्वनिः शब्द इत्युच्यते । तद्यथा, शब्दं कुरु, मा शब्दं कार्षीः, शब्दकार्ययं माणवक, इति ध्वनिं कुर्वन्नेवमुच्यते । तस्मात् ध्वनिः शब्दः ।

Now, when one says गौः, what is śabda? Is it the object which has the dew-lap, tail, hump, hoof, horns etc.? No, he says, it is called *dravya*. Is it then its gesture, movement or winking? No, he says, it is called *kriyā* or action. Is it then, the whiteness, blueness, brownness, or greyness? No, he says; it is called *guṇa*. Is it then the sum-total of the qualities like *sattā* which ever exists even when the individuals are broken or destroyed? No, he says, it is called *ākṛti*. Then what is *śabda*? *Śabda* is that on whose manifestation the correct knowledge of the object which has dew-lap, tail, hump, hoof, horns etc., is produced; or, the sound which has a decisive meaning is said to be *śabda* in the world. It is clear from the fact that he who makes noise is told thus: 'Make *śabda*', 'Do not make *śabda*', 'This student is a maker of *śabda*.' Hence *dhvani* is śabda.

When a word like गौः is pronounced, the following concepts appear in the mind of the hearer: the species cow, her action, her qualities, genus cow, the shape of the cow and also the word made up of *g*, *au* and *visarga* strikes his ear. The hearer begins to doubt whether one pronouncing गौः the

śabda refers to the species cow, her actions etc. It may seem absurd to some to think so since the species cow, her qualities etc., are seen by the eyes and the word गौः is heard by the ear. But since the relation of शब्द and अर्थ, गुण and गुणिन्, क्रिया and क्रियावान् in Sanskrit is identity according to the Sanskrit grammarians and there is a rule तदभिन्नाभिन्नस्य तदभिन्नत्वम्, it is quite natural to think so. Mahabhasyakara says that they are not the connotation of *śabda* and the true connotation is स्फोटः—that, which, when manifested, enables the hearer to have a clear knowledge of the object cow.

Is it not then the sound that strikes the ear? At first he says 'no' for the following reasons: In words made up of more than one letter, if one letter is capable of giving the sense of the whole word, the other letters are unnecessary. If, on the other hand, the whole made up of all letters is considered to be capable of giving the sense, it is not possible to have the whole pronounced at the same time. Hence the Sanskrit grammarians say that every letter that is pronounced makes an impression in the mind and the sum total of the impressions made by all the letters of the word suggest the sense. Hence *śabda* is not what we hear, but it is that which is manifested in the mind after the whole word is pronounced.

It may be useful in this context to mention that the Sanskrit grammarians state that *śabda* is of four phases:—परा, (*parā*), पश्यन्ती, (*paśyantī*), मध्यमा, (*madhyamā*) and वैखरी (*vaikharī*), *parā* being that phase of the शब्दब्रह्मन्, the undifferentiated primordial sound manifested at मूलाधार, or sacral plexus, *paśyantī* being that phase which is manifested at the navel and which is cognisable to yōgins, *madhyamā* being that phase which is manifested at the heart and *vaikharī* being that phase which is manifested

out of the vocal organs as the articulated sound. These four phases are clearly suggested by the following Ṛk mentioned in the Mahābhāṣya and the following *kārikā* found in Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya*.

> चत्वारि वाक्परिमिता पदानि तानि विदुर्ब्राह्मणा ये मनीषिणः ।
> गुहा त्रीणि निहिता नेङ्गयन्ति तुरीयं वाचो मनुष्या वदन्ति ॥
> (M. B. I. 1. 1.)
>
> वैखर्या मध्यमायाश्च पश्यन्त्याश्चैतदद्भुतम् ।
> अनेकतीर्थभेदायास्त्रय्या वाचः परं पदम् ॥ (V. I. 144).

Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa says that the definition

> येनोच्चारितेन सास्नालाङ्गूलककुदखुरविषाणिनां सम्प्रत्ययो जायते स शब्दः

applies to *madhyamā* and the definition प्रतीतपदार्थको ध्वनिः शब्दः applies to *vaikhari*. *Cf.*

ध्वनिपदेनात्र वैखरी, स्फोटपदेनाभिव्यञ्जककल्पादिको मध्यमावस्थ आन्तरः शब्द उच्यते

Even though that

> येनोच्चारितेन सास्नालाङ्गूलककुदखुरविषाणिनां सम्प्रत्ययो जायते स शब्दः

is the true definition of a word, yet Mahābhāṣyakāra suggests another definition also which is current in the world.

The statements शब्दं कुरु, मा शब्दं कार्षीः, शब्दकार्ययं माणवकः are taken by Kaiyaṭa to be विधिः (injunction) निषेधः (prohibition), and वस्तुस्थितिकथनम् (statement of actual fact). But all the three may be pronounced with the same purpose to silence a noisy boy. There is no doubt that in that case शब्दं कुरु and शब्दकार्ययं माणवकः will have to be pronounced in a particular tone, the former in a sarcastic tone and the latter in a complaining tone. If one begins to question why he should give expression to three sentences which have the same

meaning, the answer is that Mahabhasyakara takes pleasure in such statements :—*Cf.*

धर्माय नियमः, धर्मार्थो वा नियमः, धर्मप्रयोजनो वा नियमः

वृत्तये समवायः, वृत्त्यर्थो वा समवायः, वृत्तिप्रयोजनो वा समवायः (M. B. I. 1. 1.)

The word *atha* in **अथ गौरित्यत्र कः शब्दः** introduces the question **गौरित्यत्र कः शब्दः**; hence Nagoji Bhatta says **पृच्छ्यते इति शेषः।** **यत्तत्** is used in the sense of **यत्**. The use of the neuter in **यत्तत्** and the use of the masculine in **यः** is sanctioned by the statement

उद्दिश्यमानप्रतिनिर्दिश्यमानयोरेकत्वमापादयन्ति सर्वनामानि पर्यायेण तल्लिङ्गमुपाददते ।
(K. I. 1. 1.)

The statement **भिन्नेष्वभिन्नम्** suggests the oneness and the all-pervasiveness and **छिन्नेष्वच्छिन्नम्** suggests the perpetuity.

The word **सामान्यभूतम्** is taken by Kaiyata in the sense **सामान्यमिव.** But since the word **सामान्य** here denotes **सत्ता** the **व्यापकजातिः** and **आकृति** is the **व्याप्यजातिः** and there can be no comparison between two things that are **व्यापक** and **व्याप्य**, Nagoji Bhatta takes it to mean **सामान्यस्वरूपम्**, and he quotes a similar use of *bhuta* in Mahabhasya **प्रमाणभूत आचार्यः** (I. 1. 3.) in support of his interpretation.

The word **आकृति** here means not only genus, but also shape. Wherever Mahabhasyakara deals with the word **आकृति**, he takes it in both the senses. *Cf.*

आकृतिर्हि नित्या द्रव्यमनित्यम् . . . द्रव्यं हि नित्यम्, आकृतिरनित्या (M. B. I. 1. 1)

आकृतिग्रहणात्सिद्धम् . . . रूपसामान्याद्वा (M. B. I. 1. 2.)

The authority for his taking shape also to be the sense of **आकृति** is the sutra of Gautama **व्यक्त्याकृतिजातयस्तु पदार्थः**.
(II. 2. 63).

The meaning of उच्चारितेन is अभिव्यक्तेन (by that which is manifested). उच्चरितेन is another reading. It is found in the स्फोटसिद्धि of Ācārya Maṇḍana Miśra published by the University of Madras.

IV*

Unless one is informed of the advantages to be derived from doing a thing, one is not generally inclined to do it.

So the question arises

कानि पुनः शब्दानुशासनस्य प्रयोजनानि ?

What then are the advantages derived from the study of grammar and what is the authority that enjoins it? Here the word शब्दानुशासनस्य, though it means "of grammar," should be taken to mean 'of the study of grammar' (शब्दानुशासनाध्ययनस्य.)

The word प्रयोजनानि means not only 'the benefits' but also 'the authorities that enjoin' (प्रयोजकानि). In both the meanings the derivation of the word प्रयोजनम् is प्रयुज्यते अनेन. Kaiyaṭa under this line says

किं सन्ध्योपासनादिवत् व्याकरणाध्ययनं नित्यं कर्म अथ काम्यमिति प्रश्नः

It means that the question is whether the study of grammar is a *nitya-karma* like morning and evening ablutions (*sandhyopasana*) or *kamya-karma*. *Nitya-karma* is that, the performance of which is not considered to bear positive fruit and the non-performance of which is considered to produce demerit. *Kamya-karma*, on the other hand, is that,

* प्रयोजनमनुद्दिश्य न मन्दोऽपि प्रवर्तते ।

(Even a fool does not attempt a thing for nothing).

the performance of which bears the *desired* fruit and the non-performance does not bring any demerit.

The above question is answered thus :

रक्षोहागमलघ्वसन्देहाः प्रयोजनम्

The advantages are (1) रक्षा [protection (of the Vedas)], (2) ऊह [modification (of Vedic mantras)], (3) लघु [easy means (of acquiring the knowledge of words)], and (4) असन्देह (absence of ambiguity) and the authority is आगमः (Vedas).

It is worthy of note that the compound word रक्षोहागम-लघ्वसन्देहाः is in the plural and the word प्रयोजनम् is in the singular. Such a usage is sanctioned by the statement एकवच्च अस्य अन्यतरस्याम् (its use in singular is optional) in the sutra

नपुंसकमनपुंसकेनैकवच्चास्यान्यतरस्याम् । (P. I. 2. 69).

रक्षा

रक्षार्थं वेदानामध्येयं व्याकरणम् । लोपागमवर्णविकारज्ञो हि सम्यग्वेदान्परिपालयिष्यतीति ।

To protect the Vedas, grammar is to be studied. For, only he who has a correct knowledge of the elision, the augmentation and the substitution of sounds is thoroughly capable of preserving the Vedas intact. For instance, in the Vedic expression देवा अदुह्र (gods milked), the regular form अदुहत is replaced by अदुह्र where त has been elided, and र् has been augmented. Similarly in the expression उद्ग्राभं च निग्राभं च (V. S. 17, 64) भ् is substituted for ह.[1] One who is not conversant with the rules of grammar which sanction such usages may have a tendency to correct them.

[1] This is according to the descriptive grammar, for according to the historical grammar ह had भ् as one of its sources.

ऊहः खल्वपि—

न सर्वैर्लिङ्गैर्न च सर्वाभिर्विभक्तिभिर्वेदे मन्त्रा निगदिताः । ते चावश्यं यज्ञगतेन पुरुषेण यथायथं विपरिणमयितव्याः, तान्नावैयाकरणः शक्नोति यथायथं विपरिणमयितुम् । तस्मादध्येयं व्याकरणम् ।

Modification also (is one of the advantages). Mantras are not mentioned in the Vedas in all genders and cases. They have to be necessarily modified by the priest in a sacrifice according to the context (i.e.) to suit the particular god or gods invoked. It is not possible for a non-grammarian to suitably modify them. Hence is the need to study grammar.

For instance there is a mantra अग्नये त्वा जुष्टं निर्वपामि (V. S. I. 13. 2) in the Yajurveda. It is evident that this mantra should be pronounced when the deity to be invoked is *Agni*. If one is eager of getting ब्रह्मवर्चसम् (lustre of Brahman), there is an injunction that the oblation must be offered to the sun (*cf.* सौर्यं चरुं निर्वपेद् ब्रह्मवर्चसकामः । In that case the word अग्नये will have to be replaced by the word सूर्याय. This is possible only if he knows that the dative case singular of सूर्य is सूर्याय. Hence the knowledge of ऊह is necessary for the correct performance of Vedic ceremonies. From this one can understand that ऊह helps the यजमान or the sacrificer to reap the desired fruit and the ऋत्विक् or the priest to become happy through the fee he is paid for officiating as priest. Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa seems to think of the latter alone. *Cf.*

ऊहज्ञस्य हि आर्त्विज्यलाभेन द्रव्यप्राप्तिद्वारा ऐहिकसुखसिद्धिः फलमिति बोध्यम्

आगमः खल्वपि

ब्राह्मणेन निष्कारणो धर्मः षडङ्गो वेदोऽध्येयो ज्ञेयश्च । प्रधानं च षडङ्गेषु व्याकरणम् । प्रधाने च कृतो यत्नः फलवान्भवति ॥

Āgama also [forms a प्रयोजनम् (प्रयोजकम्)].

Veda with six *aṅgas* shall be studied and understood by a Brāhmaṇa without expecting any reward. Of the six *aṅgas*, grammar is important. Effort directed towards the prominent bears rich fruit.

The word ब्राह्मणेन suggests that the study of grammar is a *nitya-karma* to Brāhmaṇas and a *kāmya-karma* to others. The word कारण in निष्कारण means not cause, but *fruit*. The six aṅgas are शिक्षा (Phonetics), व्याकरणम् (Grammar), छन्दः (Prosody), निरुक्तम् (Vedic interpretation), ज्योतिषम् (Astronomy) and कल्पः (The made-easies for the performance of rituals).

Grammar is said to be important since, without its study, one is not capable of understanding the meaning of sentences.

The word *āgama* has been taken to mean *veda* and hence the word *prayojana* has to be interpreted as *prayojaka*. Since *āgama* means also *study* and it is used in that sense by Mahābhāṣyakāra himself (आगमकालेन 1 1 1) and the study of Vyākaraṇa is considered to be a *nitya-karma* to Brāhmaṇas, it seems to me to be worthy of consideration whether Mahābhāṣyakāra intends that the study of Vyākaraṇa for its own sake is *one* of the *prayojanas*.

लघु—

लघ्वर्थं चाध्येयं व्याकरणम् । ब्राह्मणेनावश्यं शब्दा ज्ञेया इति । न चान्तरेण व्याकरणं लघुनोपायेन शब्दाः शक्या विज्ञातुम् ।

For easy grasp of words is grammar to be studied. Words should necessarily be understood by Brāhmaṇas. There is no easy means of learning words other than grammar.

If the paradigm of one noun is known, the case-forms of similar nouns are also known and hence there is no need to get by heart the forms of all nouns. Similarly if the conjugational forms of one verb is known, those of similar verbs are also known.

असन्देहः—

असन्देहार्थं चाध्येयं व्याकरणम् । याज्ञिकाः पठन्ति—स्थूलपृषतीमाग्निवारुणीमनड्वाहीमालभेत इति । तस्यां सन्देहः—स्थूला चासौ पृषती च स्थूलपृषती, स्थूलानि वा पृषन्ति यस्याः सेयं स्थूलपृषतीति । तां नावैयाकरणः स्वरतोऽध्यवस्यति । यदि पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वं ततो बहुव्रीहिः, अथ समासान्तोदात्तत्वं ततस्तत्पुरुष इति ॥

For the absence of ambiguity is grammar to be studied. Mantras dealing with sacrifices are read thus:

Tie to the stake to propitiate *Agni* and *Varuṇa* a cow which is **स्थूलपृषती**. Here is the doubt whether the word **स्थूलपृषती** means 'stout and spotted,' or 'having big spots'. The correct meaning cannot be understood by a non-grammarian from its *svara*. If it has the *udātta* at the usual place of the first member of the compound, it should be taken as *bahuvrīhi* when it means 'having big spots', if, on the other hand, it has the *udātta* at the final syllable, it should be taken as *tatpuruṣa* when it means 'stout and spotted.'

Having dealt with the advantages of the study of grammar in a general way, Mahābhāṣyakāra enumerates them in detail. Kaiyaṭa says:

"Having mentioned the important benefits, he mentions those that are accessory."[1] Nāgōji Bhaṭṭa explains that they

[1] मुख्यानि प्रयोजनानि प्रदर्श्यानुषङ्गिकाणि प्रदर्शयति

are important because they are intended to get a knowledge of words and their meanings and the others are accessory since they deal with incorrect words and the usage of words in proper places etc.*

इमानि च भूयः शब्दानुशासनस्य प्रयोजनानि — तेऽसुराः । दुष्टः शब्दः । यदधीतम् । यस्तु प्रयुङ्क्ते । अविद्वांसः । विभक्तिं कुर्वन्ति । यो वा इमाम् । चत्वारि । उत त्वः । सक्तुमिव । सारस्वतीम् । दशम्यां पुत्रस्य । सुदेवो असि वरुण । इति

These also are the benefits to be accrued by the study of grammar, तेऽसुराः etc.

The expression तेऽसुराः etc., are generally at the commencement of some Vedic texts which are explained in detail below. They are thirteen in number.

तेऽसुराः—

तेऽसुरा हेलयो हेलय इति कुर्वन्तः पराबभूवुः । तस्माद् ब्राह्मणेन न म्लेच्छितवै, नापभाषितवै, म्लेच्छो ह वा एष यदपशब्दः । म्लेच्छा मा भूमेत्यध्येयं व्याकरणम् । [तेऽसुराः] †

Those *asuras* pronouncing *helayaḥ helayaḥ* were baffled in their attempt. Hence no *mleccha* word is to be pronounced by a Brahmana; (i.e.) no word not sanctioned by grammar is to be pronounced; *mleccha* means word which is not sanctioned by grammar. In order that we may not become *mlecchas* (the users of corrupt words), grammar is to be studied.

* तथा प्रधानत्वं च पदपदार्थज्ञानप्रयोजनत्वेनान्तरङ्गत्वात् । वक्ष्यमाणानां च बहिरङ्गशब्दापशब्दप्रयोगविधिनिषेधविषयत्वादानुषङ्गिकत्वं बोध्यम् ।

† तेऽसुराः indicate that the topic dealing with it is closed. The same method is followed in दुष्टः शब्दः etc.

The expression हेऽलयो हेऽलयः is the incorrect one that is referred to. The mistakes here are, according to some, the non-use of *pluta* and *prakṛtibhāva* (i.e.) हेऽलयो हेऽलयः should have been pronounced as हे ३ अलय, हे ३ अलय. Others think that the correct form is हे हे अरयः.

On considering the use of the word म्लेच्छितवै it appears that the statement

तेऽसुरा हेऽलयो हेऽलय इति कुर्वन्तः पराबभूवुः । तस्माद् ब्राह्मणेन न म्लेच्छितवै ।

is a quotation from some previous work.* The expression न म्लेच्छितवै is explained by Mahābhāṣyakāra by न अपभाषितवै. The reason for such an interpretation is said that the word म्लेच्छः is freely used to denote ungrammatical word or expression. The word म्लेच्छाः may also mean 'censured beings.' Bhartṛhari in his Pradīpikā says that तेऽसुराः ... is an *arthavāda* and म्लेच्छा मा भूम means, according to some, मा पराभूम.

दुष्टः शब्दः ।

> दुष्टः शब्दः स्वरतो वर्णतो वा मिथ्याप्रयुक्तो न तमर्थमाह ।
> स वाग्वज्रो यजमानं हिनस्ति यथेन्द्रशत्रुः स्वरतोऽपराधात् ॥ इति
> दुष्टान् शब्दान् मा प्रयुक्ष्महीत्यध्येयं व्याकरणम् । दुष्टः शब्दः ।

Word that is incorrectly pronounced either from the standpoint of *svara* (accent) or *varṇa* (letter) gives the non-desired meaning and hence is not able to convey the desired

* तत्र कैयटः 'हेऽरयो हेऽरयः' इति प्लुतप्रकृतिभावे च कर्तव्ये तदकरणं म्लेच्छनमिति । यथाकथंचन कार्ये व्यक्त्यनुकरणं स्वरं न म्लेच्छनमिति परे ।

(Cf. हेऽलवो हेऽलव इति वदन्तः पराबभूवुः । तस्मान्न ब्राह्मणो म्लेच्छेत्
Satapatha III. 2, 1, 23 & 24).

meaning. It serves as speech-thunderbolt and brings out the ruin of the sacrificer as the word इन्द्रशत्रु which was pronounced with a wrong accent. In order that we may not use wrong words, grammar is to be studied.

The allusion referred to is this: Vṛtra, an asura, wanted to bring forth a son who could kill Indra, his foe. So he performed a sacrifice in which he pronounced the *mantra* इन्द्रशत्रुर्वर्धस्व which means 'may you, *Indrasatru* flourish.' Here the word इन्द्रशत्रुः is capable of giving two meanings:— the slayer of Indra and one who could be slain by Indra. If it should convey the former meaning, the last syllable is to be accented and if it is the latter, the word इन्द्र should be accented in its usual place. Vṛtra wanted only the slayer of Indra. But, while pronouncing the mantra, he pronounced the word इन्द्रशत्रु in hot haste by accenting it on the first syllable of the word *Indra*. The result was that he got a son who could be slain by Indra.

This stanza seems to be an adaptation of the following stanza found in the पाणिनीयशिक्षा ।

मन्त्रो हीनः स्वरतो वर्णतो वा मिथ्याप्रयुक्तो न तमर्थमाह ।
स वाग्वज्रो यजमानं हिनस्ति यथेन्द्रशत्रुः स्वरतोऽपराधात् ॥

A doubt may arise why the incorrect pronunciation of words should bring out the destruction of the *sacrificer* and not the *officiating priest* though it is the latter who actually mispronounces the word. Since the priest is only paid for it, neither the gain accrued by the correct pronunciation, nor the loss accrued by the incorrect pronunciation is considered to affect him.

The enumeration of तेऽसुराः and दुष्टः शब्दः is to make the Brāhmaṇas realise that, if they are ignorant of grammar,

they will be disqualified to officiate as priests in sacrifices. If, in spite of their ignorance, they are chosen, they will be instrumental in bringing ruin to the sacrificer who chooses them.

यदधीतम्—

> यदधीतमविज्ञातं निगदेनैव शब्द्यते ।
> अनग्नाविव शुष्कैधो न तज्ज्वलति कर्हिचित् ॥
> तस्मादनर्थकं माधिगीष्महीत्यध्येयं व्याकरणम् [यदधीतम्] ।

That which is studied (at the feet of the preceptor) and is often repeated as was taught by him without its meaning being understood, does not shine (*i.e.*, is of no practical utility) like dry fuel thrown on ashes. In order that we may not study anything without advantage, the knowledge of grammar is necessary.

From this it is evident that there is no use of studying anything without understanding its sense. Much more is it so with respect to the study of the Vedas. That Mahabhasyakara cites this only with special reference to the study of the Vedas is seen from the fact that this stanza with a slight modification forms the supplement, in Nirukta, to the stanza

> स्थाणुरयं भारहारः किलाभूदधीत्य वेदं न विजानाति योऽर्थम् ।
> योऽर्थज्ञ इत्सकलं भद्रमश्नुते नाकमेति ज्ञानविधूतपाप्मा । (N. I 6 2.)

It means this:—He who studies Veda without knowing its meaning is evidently a pillar serving as rest for loads; but, on the other hand, he who understands the meaning gets all kinds of happiness and reaches Heaven after having his sins removed with his knowledge.

The Nirukta reading is **यदगृहीतम्** instead of **यदधीतम्**.

यस्तु प्रयुङ्क्ते—

> यस्तु प्रयुङ्क्ते कुशलो विशेषे शब्दान्यथावद् व्यवहारकाले ।
> सोऽनन्तमाप्नोति जयं परत्र वाग्योगविद् दुष्यति चापशब्दैः ॥

The learned grammarian who uses the right word in the right place gets unbounded success elsewhere, while the other man (the non-grammarian) fares ill by the use of incorrect words.

Mahabhasyakara evokes a discussion on the *subject* of the verb दुष्यति. The पूर्वपक्ष is that वाग्योगविद् which immediately precedes दुष्यति is its subject, and the सिद्धान्त is that अवाग्योगविद् is understood before दुष्यति and it alone can form its subject. The discussion runs as follows:

कः—Who?

वाग्योगविदेव—Evidently the grammarian!

कुत एतत्—On what authority is this?

यो हि शब्दान् जानाति अपशब्दानप्यसौ जानाति; यथैव हि शब्दज्ञाने धर्मः एवमपशब्दज्ञानेऽप्यधर्मः । अथ वा भूयानधर्मः प्राप्नोति—भूयांसोऽपशब्दाः, अल्पीयांसः शब्दाः, एकैकस्य हि शब्दस्य बहवोऽपभ्रंशाः । तद्यथा गौरित्यस्य शब्दस्य गावी गोणी गोता गोपोतलिका इत्येवमादयोऽपभ्रंशाः ॥

For he who knows the correct words knows also incorrect ones. As merit accrues with the knowledge of correct words, demerit also accrues with that of incorrect words. Or, the greater becomes the demerit since the incorrect words are greater in number; for every correct word is mispronounced in many ways; for instance the correct word गौः (which denotes cow) is mispronounced in many ways like गावी, गोणी, गोता, गोपोतलिका etc. (It must be borne in mind that the word गोणी when it means a sack is correct).

अथ योऽवाग्योगवित् —Then what about the non-grammarian?

अज्ञानं तस्य शरणम्—Ignorance is his resort.

विषम उपन्यासः । नात्यन्ताय अज्ञानं शरणं भवितुमर्हति । यो ह्यजानन् वै ब्राह्मणं हन्यात् सुरां वा पिबेत्, सोऽपि मन्ये पतितः स्यात् ।

Illogical is the argument. Ignorance cannot completely serve as a resort. He who murders a Brahmana, or who drinks liquor without knowing that either brings forth sin is, I think, a sinner.

एवं तर्हि, सोऽनन्तमाप्नोति जयं यत्र वाग्योगवित् ; दुष्यति चापशब्दैः ।

(Here it must be understood that he reads it in such a way as to stop after वाग्योगवित् so that it may be taken as the subject of आप्नोति in the previous line)

If so सोऽनन्तम् अपशब्दैः ।

कः ? Who?

अवाग्योगविदेव -Evidently the non-grammarian

अथ यो वाग्योगवित् ? Then, what about the grammarian?

विज्ञानं तस्य शरणम् Knowledge is his resort

क्व पुनरिदं पठितम् Is there any book where this is said?

भ्राजा नाम श्लोकाः The slokas named *bhraja*.

किं च भोः, श्लोका अपि प्रमाणम् Oh sir, do *slokas* also stand as authority?

किं चातः ? What if?

यदि श्लोका अपि प्रमाणम्, अयमपि प्रमाणं भवितुमर्हति

यदुदुम्बरवर्णानां घटीनां मण्डलं महत् ।
पीतं न गमयेत्स्वर्गं किं तत्क्रतुगतं नयेत् ॥ इति

If *slokas* also stand as authority, this slōka which means — when jars of red liquor drunk cannot lead to Heaven, how can a drop of the same drink in sacrifices do it? —also may serve as authority.

प्रमत्तगीत एष तत्रभवतः This is the expression of the revered when he is not in right mood.

यस्तु अप्रमत्तगीतस्तत् प्रमाणम्. [यस्तु प्रयुङ्क्ते]. That which is said when he is in right mood is an authority.

The sentence **क पुनरिदं पठितम्?** means **क एष यत्र पुनरिदं पठितम्?** The slokas named *bhraji* are ascribed to *Katyayana*. Kaiyata says that, though this verse in question (**यस्तु प्रयुङ्क्ते**), is one among *bhraja* slōkas, it is still taken to be authority since it agrees in meaning with the Vedic text '**एकः शब्दः सम्यग्ज्ञातः सुष्ठु प्रयुक्तः स्वर्गे लोके कामधुग्भवति.**'

He again says that **दुष्यति** is taken to be the predicate of **अवाग्योगविद्** and not **वाग्योगविद्** on the authority of the maxim **प्रकरणात् सामर्थ्यं बलीयः** (*Capacity to qualify* is stronger than *proximity*), here the word **प्रकरण** means only **सन्निधि** (proximity) (*i.e.*) the word **दुष्यति** is capable of being taken only with **अवाग्योगविद्** though the word **वाग्योगविद्** is near it.

From this it is evident that one gets all happiness only when he is capable of using the right word in the right place. This suggests that only such persons will be chosen to officiate as priests. This can be done only with the knowledge of grammar. Hence grammar helps Brahmanas to get fees in the sacrifices and success elsewhere.

अविद्वांसः—

अविद्वांसः प्रत्यभिवादे नाम्नो ये न प्लुतिं विदुः ।

कामं तेषु तु विप्रोष्य स्त्रीष्विवायमहं वदेत् ॥
अभिवादे स्त्रीवन्मा भूमेत्यध्येयं व्याकरणम् [अविद्वांसः]

Those illiterate persons who do not know that *pluta* (the use of three *mātras*, must be made use of while blessing a man who prostrates, must be prostrated in the same way as women after one returns to his place after some time and be told by him that he is such by name. Grammar is to be studied lest we should be treated like women in *abhivādana*

From this we learn that knowledge of grammar is needed to keep up one's dignity as a learned Brahmana.

विभक्तिं कुर्वन्ति—

याज्ञिकाः पठन्ति " प्रयाजाः सविभक्तिकाः कार्याः " इति ।
न चान्तरेण व्याकरणं प्रयाजाः सविभक्तिकाः शक्याः कर्तुम् ।
[विभक्तिं कुर्वन्ति]

Chapters dealing with sacrifices read that the *prayāja* mantras should be recited with the proper cases. But for the knowledge of grammar, it is not possible to do.

Prayājas are the subsidiary *homas* in the *Darśapūrṇamāsa* sacrifice. It is a duty enjoined by the Vedas to be performed by a house holder in the same way as *sthālīpāka* enjoined by the Smṛtis to be performed by the same person. Even though the mantras for *prayāja* homas are completely read, yet he is allowed to perform an *iṣṭi* if the *yajamāna* is attacked of stomach-ache after *odana* or meets with a great disaster within a year, where the deity to be invoked is *Agni*. Hence while performing it, he is to change the mantras in such a way as to suit it.

This is the same as the ऊह mentioned before. Hence it is clear that the second set of *prayojanas* mentioned is quotation from previous author or authors.

यो वा इमाम्—

यो वा इमां पदशः स्वरशोऽक्षरशश्च वाचं विदधाति, स आर्त्विजीनो भवति। आर्त्विजीनाः स्याम इत्यध्येयं व्याकरणम्। यो वा इमाम् ॥

He who is capable of pronouncing the mantras correctly with respect to words, accent and letters is fit to become a sacrificer or to officiate as priest in sacrifices. Grammar is to be studied so that we may be qualified to become priests or to perform sacrifices.

The word आर्त्विजीनः means a sacrificer if it is split as ऋत्विजमर्हति on the strength of the sutra यज्ञर्त्विग्भ्यां घखञौ (P.). It means a priest if it is split as ऋत्विक्कर्म अर्हति on the strength of the Varttika यज्ञर्त्विग्भ्यां तत्कर्मार्हतीत्युपसंख्यानम्.

This is also more or less the same as mentioned in यस्तु प्रयुङ्क्ते कुशलो विशेषे etc.

चत्वारि—

चत्वारि शृङ्गा त्रयो अस्य पादा द्वे शीर्षे सप्त हस्तासो अस्य ।
त्रिधा बद्धो वृषभो रोरवीति महो देवो मर्त्याँ आविवेश ॥ इति

चत्वारि शृङ्गाणि चत्वारि पदजातानि, नामाख्यातोपसर्गनिपाताश्च । त्रयो अस्य पादाः—त्रयः कालाः, भूतभविष्यद्वर्तमानाः । द्वे शीर्षे—द्वौ शब्दात्मानौ, नित्यः कार्यश्च ; सप्त हस्तासो अस्य—सप्त विभक्तयः । त्रिधा बद्धः, त्रिषु स्थानेषु बद्धः, उरसि कण्ठे शिरसीति । वृषभो, वर्षणात् । रोरवीति, शब्दं करोति। रुत एतत् रौतिः शब्दकर्मा। महो देवो मर्त्याँ आविवेशेति महान् देवः, शब्दः ; मर्त्याः, मरणधर्माणो मनुष्याः ; तान् आविवेश। महता देवेन नः साम्यं यथा स्यात् इत्यध्येयं व्याकरणम् ॥

The *Vṛṣabha* which has four horns, three feet, two heads and seven hands and which is bound in three places cries

that the Great God entered the mortals. The four horns—the four parts of speech—noun, verb, *upasarga* (preposition) and *nipata*. Its three feet—the three tenses, past, future and present. Two heads—the two kinds of *śabda*, *nitya* (eternal) and *kārya* (non-eternal). Its seven bands—the seven cases. It is bound three-fold—It is bound at three places—chest, neck and head. The word *vṛṣabha* is derived from the root *vṛṣ* (वृष). The word रोरवीति means 'makes noise.' Whence is it? The root रु means to make noise. The Great God entered the mortals—the Great God is *śabda*; the word मर्त्याः literally means mortals and hence men; He entered them. Grammar is to be studied so that we may become one with the Great God.

महो देवः here refers to शब्दब्रह्म. It has already been mentioned that Indian Grammarians recognise four phases of speech-sound, of which परा is considered to be *nitya* and the other three पश्यन्ती, मध्यमा and वैखरी are *kārya*. The word पदजातानि in the Bhasya text refers, in the opinion of Nāgōji Bhaṭṭa, to the four phases of speech-sound, since, otherwise च at the end नामाख्यातोपसर्गनिपाताः cannot be appropriate. But from the following reading of Nirukta चत्वारि पदजातानि नामाख्याते चोपसर्गनिपाताश्च I think Mahabhāṣyakara also may have had the same reading. Though *upasargas* are only *nipatas* at a particular setting, yet they have been mentioned following the maxim called गोबलीवर्दन्याय. साम्यम् is interpreted by Nāgōji Bhaṭṭa to refer to सायुज्यम् on the strength of the *Kārikā* of Bhartṛhari,

अपि प्रयोक्तुरात्मानं शब्दमन्तरवस्थितम् ।
प्राहुर्महान्तमृषभं येन सायुज्यमिष्यते ॥

The *Ṛk* चत्वारि शृङ्गा is the third *Ṛk* in the 58th Sukta of the fourth maṇḍala in Ṛgveda. Sāyaṇācārya, in his Bhāṣya,

says that since the presiding deity of this *Rk* is one of five deities, this *Rk* is interpreted in five ways: *Cf.*

सूक्तस्य अग्निसूर्यादिपञ्चदेवतात्मकत्वात् पञ्चधा अयं मन्त्रो व्याख्येयः। तथापि निरुक्तकृता यज्ञात्मकाग्नेः सूर्यस्य च प्रकाशकत्वेन तत्परतया व्याख्यायते

The same *Rk* is commented upon in Yāska's Nirukta XIII, 1-7. The expression चत्वारि, Mahabhāsyakāra says, is taken by others to refer to the following *Rk*. This clearly shows that this set of *prayojanas* was in vogue long before the time of Mahabhasyakara.

अपर आह—

चत्वारि वाक्परिमिता पदानि तानि विदुर्ब्राह्मणा ये मनीषिणः।
गुहा त्रीणि निहिता नेङ्गयन्ति तुरीयं वाचो मनुष्या वदन्ति।

चत्वारि वाक्परिमिता पदानि- चत्वारि पदजातानि, नामाख्यातोपसर्गनिपाताश्च। तानि विदुर्ब्राह्मणा ये मनीषिणः। मनस ईषिणो, मनीषिणः। गुहा त्रीणि निहिता नेङ्गयन्ति, गुहायां त्रीणि निहितानि नेङ्गयन्ति, न चेष्टन्ते, न निमिषन्तीत्यर्थः। तुरीयं वाचो मनुष्या वदन्ति। तुरीयं ह वा एतद्वाचो यन्मनुष्येषु वर्तते चतुर्थमित्यर्थः॥ चत्वारि॥

Others say:—

There are four kinds of speech-sound, which are seen by those Brahmanas who have controlled their mind. Three of them are not cognizable since they are inside the body. Men speak out only the fourth.

The four kinds of speech-sound—the four kinds are noun, verb, *upasarga* and *nipata*. They are seen by *manisins*—*manisins* are those who have controlled their mind.

Three do not exhibit themselves being kept in *guha*—three are kept in *guha*: the meaning of नेङ्गयन्ति is, they do not operate (*i.e.*) exhibit. Men speak out the fourth—that which is among men is the fourth phase of the speech-sound.

The same Rk is commented upon in Yaska's Nirukta XIII. 1. 9., where चत्वारि पदानि is explained thus:—

चत्वारि पदानि ओंकारो महाव्याहृतयश्चेत्यार्षं, नामाख्याते च उपसर्गनिपाताश्च इति वैयाकरणाः, मन्त्रः कल्पो ब्राह्मणं चतुर्थी व्यावहारिकीति याज्ञिकाः, ऋचो यजूंषि सामानि चतुर्थी व्यावहारिकीति नैरुक्ताः । etc.

It means this :—

The four *padas* are, in the opinion of seers, praṇava and three vyahrtis, they are, in the opinion of grammarians, noun, verb, *upasarga* and *nipata*; etc., according to sacrificers they are *mantra*, *kalpa*, *brahmana* and the fourth that is in vogue, they, according to Nairuktas, are *Rk*, *yajus*, *Saman* and those that are in vogue. It appears as the 45th Rk in 164th Sukta of the first Mandala in Rgveda. Sayana in his commentary mentions in addition to what has been mentioned in Nirukta,

अपरे मान्त्रिकाः प्रकारान्तरेण प्रतिपादयन्ति परा पश्यन्ती मध्यमा वैखरीति चत्वारि ।

Other *mantrikas* think that the four are (परा, पश्यन्ती, मध्यमा and वैखरी). Nagoji Bhatta explains पदजातानि thus:—परापश्यन्ती-मध्यमावैखर्यः नामादीनि च । He seems to have added परापश्यन्ती-मध्यमावैखर्यः since it is said that three of them are not cognizable and since it was recognised by grammarians that, of the four phases of speech-sound, परा, पश्यन्ती and मध्यमा are not cognizable to those other than Yogins.

उत त्वः -

उत त्वः पश्यन्न ददर्श वाचमुत त्वः शृण्वन्न शृणोत्येनाम् ।
उतो त्वस्मै तन्वं विसस्रे जायेव पत्य उशती सुवासाः ॥

अपि खल्वेकः पश्यन्नपि न पश्यति वाचम्, अपि खल्वेकः शृण्वन्नपि न शृणोत्येनाम्; इत्यविद्वांसमाहार्धम्। उतो त्वस्मै, तन्वं विसस्रे तनुं विवृणुते जायेव पत्य उशती सुवासाः तद्यथा, जाया पत्ये कामयमाना सुवासाः स्वमात्मानं विवृणुते। एवं वाग् वाग्विदे स्वात्मानं विवृणुते। वाङ्नो विवृणुयादात्मानम् इत्यध्येयं व्याकरणम् ॥ उत त्वः ॥

One, though he sees *vāk* (speech), does not see her; one, though he hears her, does not hear her. Thus the first half of the stanza speaks of one who is not learned in grammar. She discloses her body to some one in the same way as a lady opens herself to her husband when she is in clean dress and wants his company. So speech opens herself to the grammarian. In order that *vāk* may open herself to us, grammar is to be studied.

The word उत means 'though' and the word त्वः means 'one.' The expression पश्यन्नपि न पश्यति वाचम् means 'though he sees, he does not see speech.' The word उत qualifies पश्यन् and not त्वः. The expression अपि खल्वेकः शृण्वन्नपि न शृणोत्येनाम् means 'though one hears, he does not hear her.' The word तन्वम् is the earlier form of तनुम् (which means body). The word विसस्रे means 'discloses.' The expression जायेव पत्ये उशती सुवासाः means 'it is like the wife who, being in clean dress and eager to meet her husband, opens herself.' The word आत्मानं may here be taken to mean both *mind and body*. (The body and mind of *vāk* is evidently her *meaning*.) It is clear that the latter half of the stanza speaks of the learned grammarian.

The word त्वः in two places and त्वस्मै in the latter half suggest that one in, say, hundred takes to study grammar, one in, say, thousand studies to understand it, and one in, say, ten thousand or so is able to completely master it.

The word सुवासाः suggests, as is stated in Yaska's Nirukta, that she is in her *Ṛtukāla*. *Ṛtukāla* is the period of *sixteen* days beginning with the commencement of her monthly period and it, excluding the first three or four days, is considered to be the period of conception. It deserves to be noted that the injunction ऋतौ उपेयात् (one should meet his wife in *Ṛtukāla*) found in Dharmaśāstras is taken to be a *niyamavidhi* for those who have not given birth to a son; (*i.e.*) if they do not meet their wives in that period, they will meet with demerit.

This *Ṛk* "उत त्वः सुवासाः" is found in the Ṛgveda as the fourth *Ṛk* in the 71st sukta of the 10th Maṇḍala. In commenting upon it Sāyaṇācārya explains the following words thus :—

पश्यन्नपि—मनसा पर्यालोचयन्नपि
न ददर्श दर्शनफलाभावान्न पश्यति
उशती—सम्भोगं कामयमाना

The same *Ṛk* is commented upon in Nirukta (I 6. 3) thus :—

अप्येकः पश्यन्न पश्यति वाचम्। अपि च शृण्वन्न शृणोत्येनाम् इत्यविद्वांसमाहार्धम्। अप्येकस्मै तन्वं विसस्रे इति स्वमात्मानं विवृणुते ज्ञानं प्रकाशनमर्थस्याहानया वाचोपमोत्तमया वाचा जायेव पत्ये, कामयमाना ऋतुकालेषु सुवासाः कल्याणवासाः कामयमाना ऋतुकालेषु। यथा स एनां पश्यति स शृणोतीत्यर्थज्ञप्रशंसा ॥

सक्तुमिव—

सक्तुमिव तितउना पुनन्तो यत्र धीरा मनसा वाचमक्रत ।

अत्रा सखायः सख्यानि जानते भद्रैषां लक्ष्मीर्निहिताधि वाचि ।

सक्तुः सचतेर्दुर्धावो भवति, कसतेर्वा विपरीताद्विकसितो भवति । तितउ परिपवनं भवति ततवद्वा, तुन्नवद्वा । धीराः—ध्यानवन्तः । मनसा—प्रज्ञानेन वाचमक्रत-वाचमकृषत । अत्रा सखायः सख्यानि जानते अत्र सखायः सन्तः सख्यानि जानते । क्व । य एष दुर्गो मार्ग एकगम्यो वाग्विषयः । के पुनस्ते ? वैयाकरणाः । कुत एतत् ? भद्रैषां लक्ष्मीर्निहिताधि वाचि एषां वाचि भद्रा लक्ष्मीर्निहिता भवति । लक्ष्मीर्लक्षणाद्भासनात्परिवृढा भवति ॥ सक्तुमिव ॥

Where learned men sift correct words from incorrect ones through knowledge as people the flour of barley meal through sieve, there they, being friends of words or having unblemished knowledge throughout are able to see the true meaning; for the propitious Goddess Lakṣmī resides in their speech.

The word सक्तु is derived from the root सच् and hence literally means that which can be cleaned only with difficulty. Or it is derived from the root कस्, has by metathesis, assumed this form and means 'that which is spread.' The word तितउ means 'sieve' and it is so since it is wide or perforated. The word धीराः means 'learned men.' The word मनसा means 'through knowledge.' The expression वाचमक्रत means 'made words' (*i.e.*) sifted correct words from incorrect ones. In the expression अत्रा सखायः सख्यानि जानते the word सन्तः is understood after सखायः. अत्र is lengthened to अत्रा for the sake of metre. Where? (*i.e.*) to which place does the word अत्र refer? That which is difficult of access and which can be achieved only through speech. Who are they? (*i.e.*) to whom does the word सखायः refer? Grammarians. Why is

it so? For the propitious Goddess Lakṣmī resides in their speech. The word Lakṣmī is derived from the root *lakṣ* which means to shine and hence she becomes the lord.

This *Ṛk* is found in the Ṛgveda as the second *Ṛk* of 71st sūkta of the 10th Maṇḍala and it is commented upon in Yāska's Nirukta (IV, 2. 1 & 2). The expression सखायः सख्यानि जानते is interpreted in different ways. Sāyaṇācārya gives two interpretations:—(1) They possessing the knowledge of the *śāstra* are able to understand the contents of the *śāstra* correctly. (2) They being friends, get the fruits to be obtained by the knowledge of speech.

सखायः समानख्यानाः शास्त्रादिविषयज्ञानाः, ते सख्यानि तेषु भवानि ज्ञानानि जानते जानन्ति. यद्वा सखायः वाचा बद्धसख्या ... सख्यानि जानन्ति वाक्ययुक्तानभ्युद-यान् लभन्ते ॥ (Sāyaṇa).

Durgācārya, the commentator on Nirukta interprets it thus: They having the same knowledge as others are able to gauge the merits of their partners. *Cf.*

समानख्यानानामेव समानेषु शास्त्रेषु कृतश्रमाणां ... सख्यानि – विज्ञानानि ... इतरेतरस्य यो विज्ञानप्रकर्षः, तं जानते ॥

Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa, on the other hand, interprets it thus:—They knowing that everything is Brahman become one with Brahman. *Cf.*

सखायः समानख्यानाः समानज्ञानाः तच्छब्दे ब्रह्मैकत्वज्ञानवन्तस्तेनैव दृष्टान्तेन सर्वपदार्थेषु ब्रह्मनिरूपिताभेदज्ञानवन्तः सख्यानि सायुज्यानि जानते प्राप्नुवन्तीत्यर्थः ॥

Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa is of opinion that the *ṛks*

चत्वारि शृङ्गा, चत्वारि वाक्परिमिता पदानि, उत त्वः and सक्तुमिव

show that the study of grammar enables one to attain *mokṣa*.

सारस्वतीम्—

याज्ञिकाः पठन्ति "आहिताग्निरपशब्दं प्रयुज्य प्रायश्चित्तीयां सारस्वतीमिष्टिं निर्वपेदिति" प्रायश्चित्तीया मा भूमेत्यध्येयं व्याकरणम् ।। सारस्वतीम् ।।

Scriptures dealing with sacrifices read thus :—If a householder performing *agnihotra* mispronounces a word, he will have to perform an expiatory ceremony (*isti*) called *sarasvati isti*. In order that we may not be put to the necessity of performing expiatory ceremonies, grammar is to be studied.

दशम्यां पुत्रस्य—

याज्ञिकाः पठन्ति "दशम्युत्तरकालं पुत्रस्य जातस्य नाम विदध्याद् घोषवदाद्यन्तरन्तस्थमवृद्धं त्रिपुरुषानूकमनरिप्रतिष्ठितम् । तद्धि प्रतिष्ठिततमं भवति । द्व्यक्षरं चतुरक्षरं वा नाम कृतं कुर्यान्न तद्धितम्" इति। न चान्तरेण व्याकरणं कृत्स्तद्धिता वा शक्या विज्ञातुम् । दशम्यां पुत्रस्य ।।

Scriptures dealing with sacrifices read thus :—
On the day following the tenth from the birth of a son*, a name should be given to him. The name should have for its initial a voiced letter, should have the semi-vowels in the middle, should not have a *vrddhi* letter as the first of its vowels, should have been current within three generations and should not be one very popular among his enemies' families. Only such a name enables him to have long life, success in life etc. It should contain two or four letters, should be made of a stem and a primary suffix and not a secondary suffix. Without the knowledge of grammar one does not know whether a suffix is primary or secondary. A

* This is the meaning given by the Mahābhāṣyakāra to the expression दशम्यां पुत्रस्य found in Dharmas'astras.

study of Dharmasutras enables one to understand that the expression द्व्यक्षरं चतुरक्षरं वा is उपलक्षण and should be taken to mean even number of letters.

It should be noted here that the names of men should contain even number of letters and those of women should contain odd number of letters. Since Mahabhasyakara repeats the opinion of Dharmasutrakaras that a word should not have its first vowel a *vṛddhi* letter, is it possible to assume that the names like रामः, नारायणः were not given to men in his time or before him?

सुदेवो असि—

सुदेवो असि वरुण यस्य ते सप्त सिन्धवः ।
अनुक्षरन्ति काकुदं सूर्म्यं सुषिरामिव ॥

सुदेवो असि, वरुण, सत्यदेवोऽसि । यस्य ते, सप्त सिन्धवः, सप्त विभक्तयः अनुक्षरन्ति काकुदम् । काकुदं तालु । काकुर्जिह्वा, सा अस्मिन्नुद्यत इति काकुदम् । सूर्म्यं सुषिरामिव । तद्यथा शोभनामूर्मिं सुषिरामग्निरन्तः प्रविश्य दहति, एवं ते सप्त सिन्धवः सप्त विभक्तयः ताल्वनुक्षरन्ति । तेनासि सत्यदेवः । † सत्यदेवाः स्यामेत्यध्येयं व्याकरणम् ॥ सुदेवो असि ॥

Oh *Varuṇa*! you are a true God since the seven oceans (of cases) spurt out of your palate like fire through the holes from within a perforated iron image.

सुदेवो असि means सत्यदेवोऽसि । Your seven oceans are the seven cases. The word काकुदम् means palate. The word काकुः means tongue. Since the tongue acts upon the palate,

† सत्यदेव स्याम् is another reading. Considering म्लेच्छा मा भूम, दुष्टान् शब्दान् मा प्रयुक्ष्महि, सत्यदेवाः स्याम is the better reading.

it is called काकुदम्. Just as fire from within a perforated well-made iron image spurts out, so also the seven case-oceans spurt out of your palate. Hence you are *satyadeva*. Grammar is to be studied so that we may become *satyadevas*.

This *Rk* is the 12th *Rk* of the 58th sukta of the eighth Mandala in Rgveda. Sayanacarya in his commentary takes the word सिन्धवः to mean rivers. The same Rk is commented upon in Nirukta V. 4-9.

किं पुनरिदं व्याकरणमेवाधिजिगांसमानेभ्यः प्रयोजनमन्वाख्यायते, न पुनरन्यदपि किञ्चित् ? ओम् इत्युक्त्वा वृत्तान्तशः* शमित्येवमादीन् शब्दान् पठन्ति ॥

Why is the enumeration of benefits accruing from the study of Vyakarana alone made and not from that of any other (like the study of the Vedas etc.)? They say 'om' and begin to repeat chapter by chapter the Vedic words commencing from शम्.

पुरा कल्प एतदासीत्—संस्कारोत्तरकालं ब्राह्मणा व्याकरणं स्माधीयते तेभ्यस्तत्तत्स्थानकरणनादानुप्रदानज्ञेभ्यो वैदिकाः शब्दा उपदिश्यन्ते । तदद्यत्वे न तथा । वेदमधीत्य त्वरिता वक्तारो भवन्ति — वेदान्नो वैदिकाः शब्दाः† सिद्धाः, लोकाच्च लौकिकाः, अनर्थकं व्याकरणमिति । तेभ्य एवं विप्रतिपन्नबुद्धिभ्योऽध्येतृभ्यः सुहृद् भूत्वा आचार्य इदं शास्त्रमन्वाचष्टे इमानि प्रयोजनान्यध्येयं व्याकरणमिति ॥

* Annambhatta in his [illegible] says that the correct reading is वृत्तान्तशः [illegible] पठन्ति [illegible] help [illegible]

[illegible] इति भाष्यपाठः प्रामाणिकः, 'वृत्तान्तशः' इति [illegible] इति ज्ञेयम्

Bhartṛhari in his Pradīpikā seems to have preferred वृत्तान्ततः to वृत्तान्तशः [illegible] अन्येषां वृत्तान्तशः इति पाठः and takes that वृत्तान्त means प्रपाठक.

† The word शब्दाः is omitted in some editions.

This was in the old *Kalpa* that the Brahmanas studied grammar after their *upanayana*. The Vedas were then taught to them who had a knowledge of the place of production and the effort, internal and external, of sounds. But now it is not so. After studying the Vedas, they hasten to become teachers thinking that, since they know Vedic words from the study of the Vedas and the *laukika* words from their contact with the world, the study of grammar is unnecessary. The Acārya (Mahabhasyakara) out of affection towards such scholars with wrong notions, narrates this portion containing the benefits accruing from the study and hence the need of the study of Grammar.

उक्तः शब्दः । स्वरूपमप्युक्तम् । प्रयोजनान्यप्युक्तानि ॥

(The classification of) word has been said, its definition has been given and the benefits have been narrated.

V

शब्दानुशासनमिदानीं कर्तव्यम्।तत्कथं कर्तव्यम्, किं शब्दोपदेशः कर्तव्यः, आहोस्वित् अपशब्दोपदेशः, आहोस्वित उभयोपदेश इति ।

S'abdanuśasana is now to be expounded. How should it be done? Is a list of correct words to be given, or a list of incorrect words; or both?

अन्यतरोपदेशेन कृत स्यात्। तद्यथा भक्ष्यनियमेन अभक्ष्यप्रतिषेधो गम्यते— "पञ्च पञ्चनखा भक्ष्याः[*]" इत्युक्ते गम्यत एतद् अतोऽन्ये अभक्ष्या इति। अभक्ष्यप्रतिषेधेन वा भक्ष्यनियमः; तद्यथा "अभक्ष्यो ग्राम्यकुक्कुटः, अभक्ष्यो ग्राम्यशूकरः" इत्युक्ते गम्यत एतद् 'आरण्यो भक्ष्य' इति। एवमिहापि यदि तावच्छब्दोपदेशः

Cf. भक्ष्याः श्वाविद्गोधाशशशल्यककच्छपखड्गाः खड्गवर्जाः पञ्चनखाः (Bodh. Dharma 1-5. 131). and (Mahābharata śānti 141 70).

क्रियते, गौरित्येतस्मिन्नुपदिष्टे, गम्यत एतद्गाव्यादयोऽपशब्दा इति। अथाप्यपशब्दोपदेशः क्रियते, गाव्यादिषु उपदिष्टेषु, गम्यत एतद् 'गौरित्येष शब्दः' इति ॥

It is done by *either* method. From the injunction restricting the eatables, the non-eatables are inferred; when the injunction "Eat five five-clawed animals" is pronounced, it is inferred that all but those five animals are non-eatable. Similarly from the injunction restraining the non-eatables, the eatables are inferred. When the injunction "Do not eat the domestic cock and the domestic pig" is pronounced, it is inferred that the wild cock and boar may be eaten. Similar is the case here also; if the list of correct words like **गौः** is given, it is inferred that **गावी** etc., are incorrect and if, on the other hand, the list of incorrect words like **गावी** etc., is given, it may be inferred that **गौः** etc., are correct words.

NOTE 1. **पञ्च पञ्चनखा भक्ष्याः** - Is this **अपूर्वविधिः**, **नियमविधिः** or **परिसङ्ख्याविधिः**? Since there is always a craving for every one to eat anything and hence even without this injunction one may eat the flesh of the five five-clawed animals, it is not **अपूर्वविधिः** like **व्रीहीन् प्रोक्षति**.

Cf. Kaiyata's statement **न त्वयं विधिः, अप्राप्तेरभावात्**.

It may be taken as **परिसङ्ख्याविधिः** like **इमामगृभ्णन् रशनामृतस्येत्यश्वाभिधानीमादत्ते**, since by this injunction one is prevented from tasting the flesh of animals other than these five. Still Mahābhāṣyakāra takes it to be a **नियमविधिः** since it also wards off one from doing what is not mentioned there.

Cf. Nāgōjibhaṭṭa's statement

पाक्षिकाप्राप्तिकाप्राप्तांशपरिपूरणफलो नियमः। अन्यनिवृत्तिफलश्च परिसङ्ख्येति चेन्न। नियमेऽप्यप्राप्तांशपरिपूरणरूपफलबोधनद्वारा अर्थादन्यनिवृत्तेः सत्त्वेन अभेदमाश्रित्योक्तेः ॥

NOTE 2. From Nāgōjibhaṭṭa's statement

ये तु पञ्चपदस्य तदतिरिक्ते लक्षणा, भक्ष्यपदस्य च अभक्ष्ये सा

it is clear that some scholars took पञ्च to mean 'other than five' and भक्ष्याः to mean अभक्ष्याः; Nagojibhatta refutes them. Among many reasons cited in support of his view, the most important is the statement of Mahābhāṣyakāra himself

भक्ष्यनियमेन अभक्ष्यप्रतिषेधो गम्यते

किं पुनरत्र ज्यायः ? लघुत्वात् शब्दोपदेशः । लघीयान् शब्दोपदेशः ; गरीयान् अपशब्दोपदेशः ; एकैकस्य शब्दस्य बहवोऽपभ्रंशाः, तद्यथा – गौरित्यस्य शब्दस्य गावी गोणी गोता गोपोतलिका इत्येवमादयोऽपभ्रंशाः । इष्टान्वाख्यानं खल्वपि भवति ।

Which is better? The enumeration of the correct words (is better) since it is easier.—The enumeration of correct words is easier and that of incorrect words is longer; for every correct word, there are many corrupt forms. For instance the corruptions of the word गौः are गावी, गोणी, गोता, गोपोतलिका etc. We also have (another advantage of) the direct enumeration of the words that we require.

NOTE 3. The second reason given above suggests that the list of corrupt forms cannot enable us to understand the correct form of a word.

अथैतस्मिन् शब्दोपदेशे सति किं शब्दानां प्रतिपत्तौ प्रतिपदपाठः कर्तव्यः, गौः, अश्वः, पुरुषः, हस्ती, शकुनिः, मृगः, ब्राह्मण इत्येवमादयः शब्दाः पठितव्याः ? नेत्याह, अनभ्युपाय एष शब्दानां प्रतिपत्तौ प्रतिपदपाठः । एवं हि श्रूयते 'बृहस्पतिरिन्द्राय दिव्यं वर्षसहस्रं प्रतिपदोक्तानां शब्दानां शब्दपारायणं* प्रोवाच, नान्तं जगाम' । बृहस्पतिश्च प्रवक्ता, इन्द्रश्च अध्येता, दिव्यं वर्षसहस्रम् अध्ययनकालः, न चान्तं जगाम । किं पुनरद्यत्वे, यः सर्वथा चिरं जीवति स वर्षशतं जीवति ; चतुर्भिश्च प्रकारैर्विद्या उप-

* शब्दपारायणं नाम ग्रन्थः (Pradipa). शब्दपारायणशब्दः ..शास्त्रविशेषे (Pradipa)

युक्ता भवति आगमकालेन, स्वाध्यायकालेन, प्रवचनकालेन, व्यवहारकालेन इति । तत्र च अस्य आगमकालेनैव आयुः कृत्स्नं* पर्युपयुक्तं स्यात् । तस्मात् अनभ्युपायः शब्दानां प्रतिपत्तौ प्रतिपदपाठः ॥

When it has thus been decided that the list of correct words is to be given, there arises the question whether an inventory of all available correct words should be taken. Are we to enumerate words like गौः, अश्वः, पुरुषः, हस्ती, शकुनिः, मृगः, ब्राह्मणः etc.? 'No' says he, 'for such a list is not an easy means to learn correct words.' Thus runs a story in scriptures: Bṛhaspati (the preceptor of the gods) taught Indra the work called *Śabdapārāyaṇa* containing all available correct words for thousand divine years, but could not exhaust it; Bṛhaspati is the teacher, Indra is the student, the period of instruction is thousand divine years and still it was not possible to come to an end. When such is the case, how is it possible now? He who, after all, lives longest, lives hundred summers; *Vidyā* is used in four ways in a man's life time; it is learnt at the feet of the guru, it is revised, it is taught to a student and it is made use of in practical life (as in sacrifices etc.). If one attempts to learn at the feet of a guru the list of all correct words, his whole life-time will be used only in learning. Hence *pratipadapāṭha* is not an easy means to get at the knowledge of correct words.

कथं तर्हि इमे शब्दाः प्रतिपत्तव्याः ? किंचित् सामान्यविशेषवल्लक्षणं प्रवर्त्यम्, येन अल्पेन यत्नेन महतो महतः शब्दौघान् प्रतिपद्येरन् ॥

How then are the correct words to be learnt? Some work formulating general and special rules should be written

* The word कृत्स्नम् is not found in some editions

so that people can with a little effort learn the vast ocean of words.

किं पुनस्तत् ? उत्सर्गापवादौ—कश्चिदुत्सर्गः कर्तव्यः, कश्चिदपवादः । कथंजातीयकः पुनरुत्सर्गः कर्तव्यः कथंजातीयकोऽपवादः ? सामान्येनोत्सर्गः कर्तव्यः, तद्यथा 'कर्मण्यण्' ; तस्य विशेषेणापवादः, तद्यथा 'आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः' ॥

What is it? General rules and exceptions: some general rule is to be formulated and some exception. How is the general rule to be framed and how the exception? General rule which is to apply to things in general, like कर्मण्यण् is to be read and so are exceptions to apply to some special things among them like आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः.

NOTE. The sutra कर्मण्यण् means that, if in a compound the verb is preceded by the object which qualifies it, the suffix अण् follows the verb; आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः means that, if the verb mentioned above ends in आ and is not preceded by a preposition it takes the suffix क.

VI

Having thus decided that Grammar formulating general rules and exceptions is necessary to enable one to understand correct words, Mahabhasyakara discusses briefly whether the meaning of words is जाति (genus) or व्यक्ति (species) and whether the words are *nitya* or *karya*.

किं पुनराकृतिः पदार्थः, आहोस्विन् द्रव्यम् ? उभयमित्याह । कथं ज्ञायते ? उभयथा ह्याचार्येण सूत्राणि पठितानि । आकृतिं पदार्थं मत्वा 'जात्याख्यायामेकस्मिन् बहुवचनमन्यतरस्याम्' इत्युच्यते । द्रव्यं पदार्थं मत्वा 'सरूपाणामेकशेष एकविभक्तौ' इत्येकशेष आरभ्यते ॥

Does a word connote genus or species? 'Both' says he. How is it? For, sutras conceding both the views are written

by the *Acarya* (Panini). The sutra 'जात्याख्यायामेकस्मिन् ' is read on the idea that the connotation of the word is *genus* and the sutra 'सरूपाणाम् .' is read on the idea that it is *individuality.*

NOTE. It is worth noting that *genus* cannot exist without *vyakti* and the *latter* cannot without the former. Still there are two classes of schools, one holding that word connotes only *genus* and *vyakti* comes along with it, and the other holding that word connotes only *vyakti* since the former cannot exist away from the latter. But the Acarya Pāṇini clearly shows in his work that he holds both the views, one in one context and the other in another.

किं पुनर्नित्यः शब्दः, आहोस्वित्कार्यः ? संग्रहे एतत्प्राधान्येन परीक्षितम्— नित्यो वा स्यात् कार्यो वेति । तत्रोक्ता दोषाः, प्रयोजनान्यप्युक्तानि । तत्र त्वेष निर्णयः यद्येव नित्यः अथापि कार्यः, उभयथापि लक्षणं प्रवर्त्यम् इति ॥

Is *sabda nitya* or *karya*?* This was examined in detail in the work *Sangraha* whether *śabda* is eternal or non-eternal. Merits and demerits on both sides were mentioned. This is the conclusion arrived at there, that, irrespective of sabda being nitya or karya, grammar is to be written.

NOTE. Sangraha is a work written by Vyadi in 100,000 verses. It is unfortunate that the work is almost lost. Mahabhasyakara has already suggested that, if sabda refers to *sphota*, it is *nitya* and that, if it refers to *dhvani*—the sound that is produced by the vocal organs—it is *karya*.

* एवम् is another reading.

Cf. येनोच्चारितेन सास्नालाङ्गूलककुदखुरविषाणिनां सम्प्रत्ययो भवति स शब्दः[*], अथवा प्रतीतपदार्थको लोके ध्वनिः शब्दः ।

VII

Having now decided that व्याकरणम् should be written, Mahabhāsyakara may have dealt with the topic—the meaning of व्याकरणम्. Without doing it, he deals with the purpose served by व्याकरण. The reason for doing so is that he wants to observe in the discussion of topics, the order followed by the *Vārttikakara*, since his *Bhāṣya* is an elaborate commentary on not only Panini's sutras but also on Katyayana's vārttikas.

कथं पुनरिदं भगवतः पाणिनेराचार्यस्य लक्षणं प्रवृत्तम्

How has the Acarya Panini proceeded in his work?

This serves as an introduction to the first *vārttika* which runs as follows:—

सिद्धे शब्दार्थसम्बन्धे लोकतोऽर्थप्रयुक्ते शब्दप्रयोगे शास्त्रेण धर्मनियमः, यथा लौकिकवैदिकेषु ॥

When word, its meaning and their relation (or word and the relation with its meaning) are learnt to be *nitya* from the world and word is used only in such meanings as are current there, the śāstra enjoins (the use of correct words) for the sake of *dharma* as in the case of incidents, *laukika* and *vaidika*.

[*] Prabhat Chandra Chakravarti translates this in the Indian Historical Quarterly Vol. I, 1925 thus: 'Why, again, the grammatical treatise of the venerable Pāṇini has been made?' (If words are held to be eternal, what is the use of grammar?) Since the previous sentence is अथ यथा लक्षणं प्रवर्त्यम्, the legitimate question that follows is, what doctrine Pāṇini holds in his work. This is clear from Kaiyata's statement किमाचार्य एव स्रष्टा शब्दार्थसम्बन्धानाम् अथ स्मर्ता इति प्रश्नः

Here Mahabhasyakara deals in detail with the meanings of (1) सिद्ध, (2) अर्थः and (3) धर्मः and elucidates the expressions लोकतः and लौकिकवैदिकेषु and takes लोकतः twice, once along with शब्दार्थसम्बन्धे and once with अर्थप्रयुक्ते.

सिद्धे शब्दार्थसम्बन्धे —
सिद्धे शब्देऽर्थे सम्बन्धे चेति

Here Mahabhasyakara suggests that the *vigraha* of

शब्दार्थसम्बन्धे is शब्दश्च अर्थश्च सम्बन्धश्च एतेषां समाहारः, शब्दार्थसम्बन्धम्, तस्मिन्।

अथ सिद्धशब्दस्य कः पदार्थः? नित्यपर्यायवाची सिद्धशब्दः। कथं ज्ञायते? यत्कूटस्थेषु अविचालिषु भावेषु वर्तते ; तद्यथा, सिद्धा द्यौः, सिद्धा पृथिवी, सिद्धमाकाशम् इति।

Now what is the meaning of the word सिद्ध? It is the synonym of the word *nitya*. How is it so? Since it is used along with objects which do not move and which do not change. Ex. सिद्धा द्यौः (the Heaven is nitya), सिद्धा पृथिवी (the earth is nitya) and सिद्धमाकाशम् (the sky is nitya).

NOTE. The expressions सिद्धा द्यौः etc., are not based upon the conception that द्यौः, पृथिवी etc., are eternal, but upon the conception that they are relatively permanent.

Mahabhasyakara then quotes instances where the word सिद्ध means अनित्य.

ननु च भोः कार्येष्वपि वर्तते, तद्यथा—सिद्ध ओदनः, सिद्धः सूपः, सिद्धा यवागूः इति। यावता कार्येष्वपि वर्तते, तत्र कुत एतन्नित्यपर्यायवाचिनो ग्रहणम्, न पुनः

* *Cf.* Nāgōjibhaṭṭa's statement
भाष्ये द्यावापृथिव्यादीनां व्यावहारिककालस्थत्वाभिप्रायेण नित्यत्वम् आकाशस्यापि व्यावहारिकं नित्यत्वमेवाचार्याभिमतम् ॥

कार्ये च सिद्धशब्द इति । संग्रहे तावत् कार्यप्रतिद्वन्द्विभावान्मन्यामहे नित्यपर्याय-वाचिनो ग्रहणमिति । इहापि तदेव ॥

Oh Sir, the word सिद्ध is used also in connection with transient objects: Ex. सिद्ध ओदनः (Food is ready); सिद्धः सूपः (Dhal is ready); सिद्धा यवागूः (the yavagu preparation is ready). Since the word is used in connection with transient objects also, how can it be said that it means *nitya* and not *karya*? Since the word is used in the Sangraha as antonym to *karya*, we infer that it means *nitya* there; so also here.

Since the word is used in Sangraha as an antonym to *karya*, it is but right that it means *nitya* there. Since there is no criterion here to decide its meaning one way or the other, Mahabhasyakara suggests another way to come to the same conclusion.

अथवा सन्त्येकपदान्यप्यवधारणानि । तद्यथा अब्भक्षो वायुभक्ष इति, अप एव भक्षयति, वायुमेव भक्षयतीति गम्यते ; एवमिहापि सिद्ध एव, न साध्य इति ॥

Or even single words have the restrictive sense. Ex. अब्भक्षः and वायुभक्षः. They respectively mean, 'one who feeds himself *only* on water' and 'one who feeds himself *only* on air.' Similarly the word सिद्ध here means *only* सिद्ध and not *sadhya*.

The defect that underlies this explanation is this. The words अब्भक्षः and वायुभक्षः are compound words, while the word सिद्ध is a single word. In splitting the compound the word एव which denotes restriction may be brought in. Such is not the case with single words. Hence Mahabhasyakara tries to explain it thus.

अथवा पूर्वपदलोपोऽत्र द्रष्टव्यः अत्यन्तसिद्धः सिद्ध इति । तद्यथा देवदत्तो दत्तः, सत्यभामा भामा इति ॥

Or it may be considered that a word which preceded सिद्ध has been dropped, its original form being अत्यन्तसिद्ध in the same way as दत्त: is the shortened form of देवदत्त:, and भामा of सत्य-भामा.

The defect that underlies this explanation is this In the case of the words दत्त, and भामा standing respectively for देवदत्त and सत्यभामा, it should be noted that देवदत्त: and सत्यभामा are mentioned at the first instance and only later on for the sake of brevity दत्त, and भामा are used The same is not the case here. Besides there is nothing to suggest that the word सिद्ध is used here to denote अत्यन्तसिद्ध.

Hence Mahābhāṣyakāra suggests the final solution thus :—

अथवा व्याख्यानतो विशेषप्रतिपत्तिर्न हि सन्देहादलक्षणम् इति, नित्यपर्यायवाचिनो ग्रहणमिति व्याख्यास्यामः।

If so, we explain that the word सिद्ध means नित्य since a text cannot be thrown away on the ground that it is not clear. Its correct sense should be understood from the commentaries or the interpretation given by the commentators.

किं पुनरनेन वर्ण्येन? किं न महता कण्ठेन नित्यशब्द एवोपात्त:, यस्मिन्नुपादीयमानेऽसन्देहः स्यात्?

Why should he give room for this kind of interpretation? Why should he not, with his open mouth, have given expression to the word *nitya*, when there would be no ambiguity?

* *Cf.* न तु [illegible] देवदत्तशब्दस्य [illegible] कश्चन समर्थो लोपं कर्तुम्
(Bhartṛhari's Pradīpikā.)

मङ्गलार्थम् । माङ्गलिक आचार्यो महतः शास्त्रौघस्य मङ्गलार्थं सिद्धशब्दमादितः प्रयुङ्क्ते । मङ्गलादीनि हि शास्त्राणि प्रथन्ते, वीरपुरुषाणि* च भवन्ति आयुष्मत्पुरुषाणि† च, अध्येतारश्च सिद्धार्था यथा स्युः इति ॥

For the sake of *maṅgala* (auspiciousness). The *Ācārya* (Kātyāyana), eager of reaping the fruit of *maṅgala* said सिद्ध for the sake of mangala at the commencement of his great work. The works which start with *maṅgala* shine well and enable the scholars to become heroic and long lived and to have their objects fully accomplished.

NOTE: It deserves notice that the appellation आचार्य is applied by Patañjali not only to Pāṇini but also to Kātyāyana.

Then the author begins to show that even if the word *nitya* is used instead of *siddha*, it is not free from ambiguity—

अथ खलु नित्यशब्दः नावश्यं कूटस्थेष्वविचालिषु भावेषु वर्तते । किं तर्हि ? आभीक्ष्ण्येऽपि वर्तते, तद्यथा नित्यप्रहसितो नित्यप्रजल्पितः§ इति। यावता आभीक्ष्ण्येऽपि वर्तते तत्राप्यनेनैवार्थः स्यात्, 'व्याख्यानतो विशेषप्रतिपत्तिः न हि सन्देहादलक्षणम्' इति। पश्यति तु आचार्यो मङ्गलार्थश्चैव सिद्धशब्दः आदितः प्रयुक्तो भविष्यति, शक्ष्यामि चैनं नित्यपर्यायवाचिनं‡ वर्णयितुमिति । अतः सिद्धशब्दः एवोपात्तो न नित्यशब्दः ।

Even this word *nitya* does not invariably connote eternity. What then? It is used to connote repetition also. Ex. नित्यप्रहसितः (One who ever laughs) and नित्यप्रजल्पितः (one who ever prattles). Since it connotes repetition also, it should be

* वीरपुरुषकाणि is another reading
† आयुष्मत्पुरुषकाणि is another reading
§ नित्यप्रजल्पः is another reading
नित्यपर्यायम् is another reading

free from ambiguity only by the interpretation of the commentators. The *Ācārya* thinks that the word *siddha* is used at the commencement for the sake of *maṅgala* and I am able to interpret that it means *nitya*. Hence is the use of the word *siddha* and not *nitya*.

Having thus discussed the meaning of the word सिद्धे, the author begins to deal with the statement शब्दे अर्थे सम्बन्धे and discusses whether the word *artha* denotes *genus* or *individuality*.

अथ कं पुनः पदार्थं मत्वा एष विग्रहः क्रियते 'सिद्धे शब्देऽर्थे सम्बन्धे च' इति । आकृतिमित्याह । कुत एतत् । आकृतिर्हि नित्या द्रव्यमनित्यम् ।

With what meaning (genus or individuality) in mind is the compound split thus शब्दे अर्थे सम्बन्धे? 'Akṛti' (genus), says he. Why so? For *ākṛti* is *nitya* and *dravya* is *anitya*.

अथ द्रव्ये पदार्थे कथं विग्रहः कर्तव्यः । सिद्धे शब्देऽर्थसम्बन्धे च इति । नित्यो ह्यर्थवतामर्थैरभिसम्बन्धः ॥

If *dravya* is *padartha*, how is the compound split? It is split thus शब्दे अर्थसम्बन्धे, for, the relation of the word to its meaning is *nitya*, (though the meaning in the form of *dravya* is *anitya*).

The author then takes the word *ākṛti* to connote shape and in that case begins to deal with the nature of the splitting of the compound—

अथवा द्रव्य एव पदार्थे एष विग्रहो न्याय्यः—सिद्धे शब्देऽर्थे सम्बन्धे चेति ; द्रव्यं हि नित्यम्, आकृतिरनित्या । कथं ज्ञायते । एवं हि दृश्यते लोके मृत् कयाचिदाकृत्या युक्ता पिण्डो भवति, पिण्डाकृतिमुपमृद्य घटिकाः क्रियन्ते, घटिकाकृतिमुपमृद्य कुण्डिकाः क्रियन्ते ; तथा सुवर्णं कयाचिदाकृत्या युक्तं पिण्डो भवति, पिण्डाकृतिमुपमृद्य रुचकाः

क्रियन्ते, रुचकाकृतिमुपमृद्य कटकाः क्रियन्ते, कटकाकृतिमुपमृद्य स्वस्तिकाः क्रियन्ते। पुनरावृत्तः सुवर्णपिण्डः पुनरपरयाकृत्या युक्तः खदिराङ्गारसवर्णे कुण्डले भवतः। आकृतिरन्या चान्या च भवति, द्रव्यं पुनस्तदेव। आकृत्युपमर्देन द्रव्यमेवावशिष्यते॥

Or the compound is split thus शब्दे अर्थे सम्बन्धे even when the meaning of the word is *dravya*; for the *dravya* always remains the same, while the shape is changing. How is it? Thus it is seen in the world. Mud in one shape becomes a clod; it is broken and it is converted into small pots; that shape is destroyed and the same mud is made into jars. So also is gold. In one shape it is a ball; it is destroyed and the gold is converted into rings; they are destroyed and it is made into bracelets; that shape is destroyed and it is made into a kind of amulets; that being destroyed, it is made into ear-rings as bright as red-hot charcoal of ebony wood. The shape changes from one to another, but the material remains the same. Though the shape is destroyed, the material remains.

आकृतावपि पदार्थे एष विग्रहो न्याय्यः सिद्धे शब्देऽर्थे सम्बन्धे चेति। ननु चोक्तम् 'आकृतिरनित्या' इति। नैतदस्ति। नित्या आकृतिः। कथम्? न क्वचिदुपरतेति कृत्वा सर्वत्रोपरता भवति, द्रव्यान्तरस्था तु उपलभ्यते॥

Even accepting *ākṛti* to be *padārtha*, it is but proper to split the compound thus शब्दे अर्थे सम्बन्धे. Has it not been said that *ākṛti* is *anitya*? No, it is *nitya*. How? Though it is not seen at one place, it does not fail to exist in all places; it is found in other objects (of the same genus).

NOTE. Here it should be borne in mind that *ākṛti* when it is considered to be *nitya*, means *genus* and when it is considered to be *anitya*, it means *shape*.

अथवा नेदमेव नित्यलक्षणम् - ध्रुवं कूटस्थम् अविचालि अनपायोपजनविकारि अनुत्पत्त्यवृद्ध्यव्यययोगि यत् तन्नित्यमिति । तदपि नित्यं यस्मिंस्तत्त्वं न विहन्यते । किं पुनस्तत्त्वम् ? तद्भावस्तत्त्वम् । आकृतावपि तत्त्वं न विहन्यते ।

Or this is not the definition of *nitya*, —that which is free from संसर्गानित्यता, परिणामानित्यता and प्रध्वंसानित्यता[1], but that from which its inherent property is never severed is *nitya*. What is *tattva*? Its-ness is *tattva*. The *tattva* is never separated from *ākṛti*.

NOTE. संसर्गानित्यता is seen from the apparent red-crystal in the proximity of red-flower. The relation of redness and crystal is *anitya*, since it disappears at the disappearance of the red flower. परिणामानित्यता is seen in the process of a fruit becoming a ripe fruit. The relation with its colour when it is not ripe disappears when it becomes ripe and hence the colour is *anitya*. प्रध्वंसानित्यता is complete destruction.

[1] ध्रुवं कूटस्थमिति संसर्गानित्यता निरस्ता, अविचालीति परिणामानित्यता, अनपायोपजन[illegible]विकारीति प्रध्वंसानित्यता (Pradīpa).

ध्रुवं स्वाभाविकरूपवत्त्वेन संसर्गरहितम् कूटस्थम् आगन्तुकेन संसर्गेण रहितम् अविचालि अपरिणामि [illegible] — अनुत्पत्त्यवृद्ध्यव्यययोगीति [illegible] विकाररहितं [illegible] अपाय = नाश उपजन, [illegible] विकार = परिणाम, [illegible] व्यय = अपचय इति (Uddyotana).

ध्रुवपदस्यैव व्याख्यानं कूटस्थमिति [illegible] यथा [illegible] परिणामानित्यता [illegible] अनुत्पत्तीत्यनेन जन्मसत्ताख्यौ भावविकारौ निरस्तौ [illegible] तृतीयो वृद्धिरूपः अनुपजनेति चतुर्थः परिणामः अनपायेति पञ्चम अपचयः, अव्ययेति षष्ठो विनाशः (Uddyota).

It deserves to be noted that Nāgojibhaṭṭa has not given the meaning of अविकारि both he and Annambhaṭṭa differ in the meanings of the words अपाय, उपजन and व्यय.

उत्पत्ति = Birth, उपजन = Existence or stability, वृद्धि = Growth, विकार = Transformation, व्यय = Reduction, अपाय = Destruction

*अथवा किं न एतेन इदं नित्यम् इदम् अनित्यम् इति । यन्नित्यं तं पदार्थं मत्वैष विग्रहः क्रियते—सिद्धे शब्दे अर्थे सम्बन्धे चेति ॥

Or what is the use of this discussion that one is *nitya* and the other *anitya*? When we take the one thing to be *nitya*, we split the compound thus: शब्दे अर्थे सम्बन्धे

कथं पुनर्ज्ञायते सिद्धः शब्दोऽर्थः सम्बन्धश्चेति । 'लोकतः' । यल्लोकेऽर्थमर्थमुपादाय शब्दान्प्रयुञ्जते, नैषां निर्वृत्तौ यत्नं कुर्वन्ति । ये पुनः कार्या भावा निर्वृत्तौ तावत्तेषां यत्नः क्रियते, तद्यथा घटेन कार्यं करिष्यन् कुम्भकारकुलं गत्वाह कुरु घटं, कार्यमनेन करिष्यामीति । न तद्वच्छब्दान् प्रयुयुक्षमाणो वैयाकरणकुलं गत्वाह कुरु शब्दान् प्रयोक्ष्ये इति । तावत्येवार्थमुपादाय शब्दान् प्रयुञ्जते ।

How is it understood that *śabda*, *artha* and *sambandha* are *nitya*? From the world. For words are used to denote objects and no effort is made to create them. Effort is taken in creating such things as are *kārya*. For instance he who has the use of a pot goes to the potter's house and says, 'Make a pot; I have to use it.' But no one similarly goes to the house of a grammarian and says, 'Create words; I shall make use of them.' He thinks of the object and makes use of words denoting them.

यदि तर्हि लोक एषु प्रमाणम्, किं शास्त्रेण क्रियते । 'लोकतोऽर्थप्रयुक्ते शब्दप्रयोगे शास्त्रेण धर्मनियमः' । लोकतोऽर्थप्रयुक्ते शब्दप्रयोगे शास्त्रेण धर्मनियमः क्रियते । किमिदं धर्मनियम इति । धर्माय नियमो धर्मनियमः, धर्मार्थो वा नियमो धर्मनियमः, धर्मप्रयोजनो वा नियमो धर्मनियमः ॥

If then the world is the authority for the use of words, what purpose is served by the Vyākaraṇa śāstra? When words

* एषु शब्देषु is another reading.

are used in the sense in which each is current in the world, injunction to use the correct word is made by the śāstra for the sake of *dharma*. *Dharma-niyama*, what does it mean? It means *niyama* for *dharma*, *niyama* for the sake of *dharma* and *niyama* having for its fruit *dharma*.

NOTE: It deserves to be noted that Kaiyaṭa clearly says that the compound *dharma-niyamaḥ* should be split only as *dharmāya niyamaḥ*. If so, Mahābhāṣyakāra does not mention how the compound is split, but brings out the sense of the compound. All the three ways mentioned here—धर्माय नियमः, धर्मार्थो वा नियमः and धर्मप्रयोजनो वा नियमः may be taken to mean the same. The only difference is that the second is more explanatory than the first and the third is more explanatory than the second. What is, then, the meaning of *dharma*? It may be interpreted in three ways:

1. नित्यकर्म (*Cf.* निष्कारणो धर्मः षडङ्गो वेदोऽध्येयो ज्ञेयश्च (M. B. I, 1, 1)
2. यज्ञकर्म (*Cf.* याज्ञे कर्मणि स नियमः। (M. B. I, 1, 1).
3. अपूर्वम् (*Cf.* ज्ञाने धर्म इति चेत्तथाधर्मः। (M. B. I, 1, 1)

Nāgojibhaṭṭa says (as the opinion of some) that in धर्माय नियमः धर्म has the first meaning, in धर्मार्थो वा नियमः it has the second meaning and in धर्मप्रयोजनो वा नियमः it has the third meaning. But it is better to take that it has all the three meanings in each.

यथा लौकिकवैदिकेषु । प्रियतद्धिता दाक्षिणात्याः, यथा लोके वेदे चेति प्रयोक्तव्ये यथा लौकिकवैदिकेष्विति प्रयुञ्जते । अथवा युक्त एवात्र तद्धितार्थः, यथा लौकिकेषु वैदिकेषु च कृतान्तेषु । लोके तावत् अभक्ष्यो ग्राम्यकुक्कुटः, अभक्ष्यो ग्राम्यशूकर

* *Cf.* Bodhāyana Dharmasūtra 1, 12, 1.

इत्युच्यते । भक्ष्यं च नाम क्षुत्प्रतीघातार्थमुपादीयते, शक्यं चानेन श्वमांसादिभिरपि क्षुत्प्रतिहन्तुम्, तत्र नियमः क्रियते इदं भक्ष्यम् इदम् अभक्ष्यम् इति । तथा खेदात् स्त्रीषु प्रवृत्तिर्भवति, समानश्च खेदविगमो गम्यायां च अगम्यायां च, तत्र नियमः क्रियते इयं गम्या इयम् अगम्या इति ॥

As in *laukika* and *vaidika* incidents. The Southerners are fond of using words with taddhita suffixes (without special significance). They, instead of using लोके and वेदे, use लौकिक-वैदिकेषु. Or it is but proper that the taddhita suffix has a meaning. The term लौकिकवैदिकेषु may be taken to mean लौकिकेषु वैदिकेषु च कृतान्तेषु. There is with reference to the worldly incident, the saying that the domestic cock should not be eaten nor the domestic pig; food is taken to remove hunger; it may be removed by any one even with dogs' meat; there is the restriction made that one is eatable and the other is non-eatable. Similarly man meets woman to satisfy his sexual passion; it may be had in meeting any woman deserving or non-deserving; there is the restriction made that one is meet-able and the other is non-meet-able.

NOTE. The mention of the word दाक्षिणात्य suggests that Kātyāyana was a Southerner, while both the *sūtrakāra* and the *bhāṣyakāra* were Northerners. Some think that there is a little sneer here.

वेदे खल्वपि पयोव्रतो ब्राह्मणः, यवागूव्रतो राजन्यः, आमिक्षाव्रतो वैश्य इत्युच्यते, व्रतं च नाम अभ्यवहारार्थमुपादीयते; शक्यं चानेन शालिमांसादीन्यपि व्रतयितुम्; तत्र नियमः क्रियते । तथा बैल्वः खादिरो वा यूपः स्यात् इत्युच्यते;

The expression लौकिकवैदिकेषु is taken to mean in the *worldly* and *Vedic* texts by Kaiyaṭa and others. But on viewing this with शब्दप्रमाणक it is better to take it in the sense 'in the incidents of the world and Vedic rituals'. In that case शास्त्रेण धर्मनियमः is understood after लौकिकवैदिकेषु.

यूपश्च नाम पश्वनुबन्धार्थमुपादीयते, शक्यं चानेन यत्किञ्चिदेव काष्ठमुच्छ्रित्य अनुच्छ्रित्य वा पशुरनुबन्द्धुम्; तत्र नियमः क्रियते । तथा अग्नौ कपालान् अधिश्रित्य अभिमन्त्रयते—भृगूणामङ्गिरसां घर्मस्य तपसा तप्यध्वम् इति; अन्तरेणापि मन्त्रम् अग्निर्दहनकर्मा कपालानि सन्तापयति; तत्र च नियमः क्रियते—एवं क्रियमाणमभ्युदयकारि भवतीति ॥

So with reference to the Vedic rituals it is said that during fasting times Brāhmaṇa, if hungry, may take milk, Kṣatriya *Yavāgu*, and Vaiśya curd of milk and whey. *Vrata* intends only food. Rice and meat may serve the same purpose; still restriction is made. So also it is said that the stake to which the sacrificial animal is tied should be of *bilva* tree or *khadira* tree. The stake is intended to tie the sacrificial animal; any piece of wood standing upright or otherwise may serve the purpose; there is the restriction made. Similarly *Kapāla's* (small pieces of mud) are put in fire and the mantra which means, 'Heat them with the intense heat of Bhrgus and Angiras' is pronounced; the small pieces will be heated whether the mantra is recited or not; there is the restriction made that, if it is done so, it begets merit.

एवमिहापि समानायामर्थावगतौ शब्देन चापशब्देन च, धर्मनियमः क्रियते शब्देनैव अर्थोऽभिधेयो, नापशब्देन इति; एवं क्रियमाणमभ्युदयकारि भवतीति ॥

So here also though the meaning is understood both from the correct word and the corrupt one, still restriction is made that meaning is to be made out only from the correct word, since from it alone accrues merit.

The meaning of the first *vartika* having been fully explained, there arises a doubt whether word that is not current in the world is correct or not, since it has been said there that it is used only in such meanings as are current in the world.

अस्त्यप्रयुक्तः—

सन्ति वै शब्दा अप्रयुक्ताः ; तद्यथा, ऊष तेर चक्र पेच इति ।

Is but not current—there are evidently words which are not current, *viz. ūṣa, tera, cakra, peca.*

किमतो यत्सन्त्यप्रयुक्ताः ? What if there are words not current ?

प्रयोगाद्धि भवाञ्छब्दानां साधुत्वमध्यवस्यति। य इदानीम अप्रयुक्ता नामी साधवः स्युः। इदं तावद्विप्रतिषिद्धम् यदुच्यते सन्ति वै शब्दा अप्रयुक्ता इति , यदि सन्ति नाप्रयुक्ताः, अथाप्रयुक्ता न सन्ति, सन्ति च अप्रयुक्ताश्चेति विप्रतिषिद्धम् ॥

For only from usage you determine the correctness of words. Those which are not now in usage cannot be correct. This is at first contradictory to say that there are words but they are not in usage; if they are, they cannot have fallen out of use, and if they have fallen out of use, they cannot exist; they exist but they are not in use is contradictory.

प्रयुञ्जान एव खलु भवानाह सन्ति शब्दा अप्रयुक्ता इति : कश्चेदानीमन्यो भवज्जातीयकः पुरुषः शब्दानां प्रयोगे साधुः स्यात् *

You use the words and say at the same time that they are out of use. Who else of your type can make correct use of words ?

नैतद्विप्रतिषिद्धम् सन्तीति तावद् ब्रूमः, यदेतान् शास्त्रविदः शास्त्रेणानुविदधते। अप्रयुक्ता इति ब्रूमः, यल्लोके अप्रयुक्ता इति । यदप्युच्यते कश्चेदानीमन्यो भवज्जातीयकः पुरुषः शब्दानां प्रयोगे साधुः स्यादिति, न ब्रूमोऽस्माभिरप्रयुक्ता इति ।

This is not contradictory; we first say that they exist since they are formed from the rules of grammar; then

* Note the use of the plural by the pupil. This shows that he has lost his balance.

we say that they are not in use since they are not used in the world. As regards the statement 'who else of your type can make correct use of words?'—we do not say that they are not used by us.

किं तर्हि? What then?

लोकेऽप्रयुक्ता इति। They are not made use of in the world.

ननु च भवानप्यभ्यन्तरो लोके? Are not you one in the world?

अभ्यन्तरोऽहं लोके, न त्वहं लोकः। I am one in the world, but not the whole world.*

अस्त्यप्रयुक्त इति चेन्न, अर्थे शब्दप्रयोगात्[1]

अस्त्यप्रयुक्त इति चेत्तन्न। किं कारणम्? अर्थे शब्दप्रयोगात्—अर्थे शब्दाः प्रयुज्यन्ते, सन्ति चैषां शब्दानामर्था येष्वर्थेषु प्रयुज्यन्ते।

"Is but not current" cannot be said, for words are used to express ideas. If it is said, "Is but not current," it can be denied. How? On account of the use of words to express ideas—words are used to express ideas and there are ideas, to express which the words are used.

अप्रयोगः प्रयोगान्यत्वात्—

अप्रयोगः खल्वप्येषां शब्दानां न्याय्यः, कुतः? प्रयोगान्यत्वात्, यदेतेषां शब्दानामर्थेऽन्याञ्छब्दान् प्रयुञ्जते; तद्यथा, ऊषेत्यस्य शब्दस्यार्थे क्व यूयमुषिताः, तेरेत्यस्यार्थे क्व यूयं तीर्णाः, चक्रेत्यस्यार्थे क्व यूयं कृतवन्तः, पेचेत्यस्यार्थे क्व यूयं पक्ववन्तः इति।

* He suggests that he uses such words to denote the *form* of the word, while ordinary people use words only to express *ideas*.

[1] The objection raised is successfully met with five reasons: (1) *artha-sabda-prayogāt*, (2) *aprayogaḥ prayogānyatvāt*, (3) *prayoge dīrghasattravat*, (4) *sarve deśāntare* and (5) [illegible]

Non-use on account of the use of other (synonymous) expressions.—It is not proper that these words are not in use. Why? On account of other expressions, since other expressions are used to convey the idea of these words, *viz.* '*Kva yūyam uṣitāḥ*' in place of '*ūṣa*,' '*kva yūyam tīrṇāḥ*' in place of '*tera*,' '*kva yūyam kṛtavantaḥ*' in place of '*cakra*' and '*kva yūyam pakvavantaḥ*' in place of '*peca*.'

अप्रयुक्ते दीर्घसत्त्रवत्—

यद्यप्यप्रयुक्ता तथापि अवश्यं दीर्घसत्त्रवल्लक्षणेनानुविधेयाः। तद्यथा दीर्घसत्त्राणि वार्षशतिकानि वार्षसहस्रिकाणि च*, न चाद्यत्वे कश्चिदपि व्यवहरति†। केवलमृषिसम्प्रदायो‡ धर्म इति कृत्वा याज्ञिकाः शास्त्रेणानुविदधते।

Though not current, to be treated like *dīrghasattra*.—Though they are not current, yet they should certainly be treated in grammar like *dīrghasattra*. Dīrghasattras are sacrifices performed in one hundred or one thousand days and they are not performed nowadays. Still Yājñikas enjoin them in the chapters dealing with sacrifices in the Vedas since it is considered that their study is *dharma*.§

सर्वे देशान्तरे**—

सर्वे खल्वप्येते शब्दा देशान्तरे प्रयुज्यन्ते।

All in other places.—All of these words are certainly in use in other places.

* वर्षशब्दः विवक्षपरः (Nāgojibhaṭṭa)

† आहरति is the reading of Nāgojibhaṭṭa.

‡ ऋषिसम्प्रदायः = वेदाध्ययनम् (Kaiyaṭa).

§ [illegible] धर्म, [illegible] इति [illegible] (Uddyota)

** देशान्तरे is another reading

न चैवोपलभ्यन्ते[*]

But they are not known.

उपलब्धौ यत्नः क्रियताम् । महान् हि शब्दस्य प्रयोगविषयः—सप्तद्वीपा वसुमती, त्रयो लोकाः, चत्वारो वेदाः साङ्गाः सरहस्याः[1] बहुधा भिन्ना एकशतमध्वर्युशाखाः, सहस्रवर्त्मा सामवेदः, एकविंशतिधा बाह्वृच्यं, नवधाथर्वणो वेदः, वाकोवाक्यमितिहासः पुराणं वैद्यकमित्येतावाञ्छब्दस्य प्रयोगविषयः ॥

Let attempt be made to know them. Great is the range for the use of words—earth with its seven island-continents, three worlds, four vedas with their *angas* and *upanisads* with minute varieties, Yajurveda with 101 recensions, Samaveda with 1000 recensions, Rgveda with 21 recensions, Atharvaveda with nine recensions, science of discussions, history, puranas, works on medicine.

एतावन्तं शब्दस्य प्रयोगविषयमननुनिशम्य सन्त्यप्रयुक्ता इति वचनं केवलं साहसमात्रमेव

Without noting such a range for the use of words, it is simple impudence to say that words exist, but at the same time are obsolete.

एतस्मिंश्चातिमहति शब्दस्य प्रयोगविषये ते ते शब्दास्तत्र तत्र नियतविषया दृश्यन्ते—तद्यथा शवतिर्गतिकर्मा कम्बोजेष्वेव भाषितो भवति, विकार एनमार्या भाषन्ते शव इति । हम्मतिः सुराष्ट्रेषु, रंहतिः प्राच्यमध्येषु, गमिमेव त्वार्याः प्रयुञ्जते । दातिर्लवनार्थे प्राच्येषु, दात्रमुदीच्येषु ॥

In this vast range of the use of words, particular words in particular meanings are current in different places; *viz.* the

[*] न चैते is another reading.

[1] *Rahasyam* = Upanisad Manvadismrtayo vā (Uddyota)

root *śav* is used in the sense of 'to go' in Kamboja, Aryas make use of that root only in the word *śava* (which means a corpse), the root *hamm* in Surāṣṭra, and *ramh* in east and midland countries are used in the sense of 'to go': Aryas use only the root *gam*. The word *dāti* is used in the eastern countries in the sense of 'cutting' and *dātra* in the northern countries.

ये चाप्येते भवतोऽप्रयुक्ता अभिमता शब्दा, एतेषामपि प्रयोगो दृश्यते । क्व ? वेदे । यथा, सप्तास्ये रेवती रेवदूष (R. V. IV. 51, 4.), यद्वो रेवती रेवत्यं तदूष, यन्मे नरः श्रुत्यं ब्रह्म चक्र (R. V. I. 165, 11) यत्रा नश्चक्रा जरसं तनूनाम् (R. V. I. 89, 9) इति ।।

Even such words as are in your opinion obsolete are in use. Where? In Veda—*viz., saptāsye revati revad ūṣa, yadvo revati revatyam tad ūṣa, yan me naraḥ śrutyam brahma cakra, yatrā naścakrā jarasam tanūnām.*

Next arises the doubt whether merit accrues from *śabdajñāna* or *śabdaprayoga*, since it is said in the vārtika 'Lokataḥ arthaprayukte śabdaprayoge śāstreṇa dharmaniyamaḥ.' Kaiyaṭa says that the following topic arises from the śruti.

एकः शब्दः सम्यग् ज्ञातः शास्त्रान्वितः सुप्रयुक्तः स्वर्गे लोके कामधुग् भवति,

where it is doubtful whether the importance is upon *jñāna* or *prayoga*.*

किं पुनः शब्दस्य ज्ञाने धर्म आहोस्वित् प्रयोगे ?

* Nāgeśa bhaṭṭa says that *jñāna* may be considered important and *prayoga* accessory as *jñāna* is acquired first in the śāstra, or *jñāna* may be considered accessory to *prayoga* since all *aṅgas* except *ātma-jñāna* are needed only for application.

Does merit accrue from the *knowledge* of correct words or from the *use* of correct words?

कश्चात्र विशेषः ?

What is the difference here?

ज्ञाने धर्म इति चेत्तथा अधर्मः

ज्ञाने धर्म इति चेत्तथाऽधर्मोऽपि प्राप्नोति । यो हि शब्दाञ्जानाति अपशब्दानप्यसौ जानाति । यथैव शब्दज्ञाने धर्म एवमपशब्दज्ञानेऽप्यधर्मः ॥

If merit accrues from knowledge, so also will demerit. If it is considered that merit accrues from knowledge, demerit also will accrue, for he who knows correct words knows their corruptions also; as merit accrues from the knowledge of correct words, so also will demerit accrue from that of their corruptions.

अथवा भूयानधर्मः प्राप्नोति । भूयांसोऽपशब्दाः, अल्पीयांसः शब्दाः । एकैकस्य शब्दस्य बहवोऽपभ्रंशाः —तद्यथा गौरित्यस्य गावी गोणी गोता गोपोतलिका इत्येवमादयोऽपभ्रंशाः ॥

Or greater demerit will accrue; for greater in number are the corruptions and smaller in number are correct words. For every correct word there are many corruptions. e.g., गावी, गोणी, गोता, गोपोतलिका etc., are the corrupt forms of one single word गौः

आचारे नियमः

आचारे पुनर्ऋषिर्नियमं वेदयते—तेऽसुरा हेऽलयो हेऽलय इति कुर्वन्तः पराबभूवुः इति

Injunction in use, Veda suggests injunction by the statement तेऽसुरा पराबभूवुः (Those Asuras met with disaster by using हेऽलयो हेऽलयः)

अस्तु तर्हि प्रयोगे

If so, let the merit accrue from *prayoga.*

प्रयोगे सर्वलोकस्य

यदि प्रयोगे धर्मः सर्वो लोकोऽभ्युदयेन युज्येत

If it is from prayoga, it will be of the whole world. If merit accrues from *prayoga*, the whole world will get merit.

कश्चेदानीं भवतो मत्सरो यदि सर्वो लोकोऽभ्युदयेन युज्येत ?

Why should you be envious if the whole world get merit ?

न खलु कश्चिन्मत्सरः । प्रयत्नानर्थक्यं तु भवति । फलवता च नाम प्रयत्नेन भवितव्यम् । न च प्रयत्नः फलाद्व्यतिरेच्यः ॥

There is no envy. The effort will be fruitless. It is indeed necessary that every effort should bear fruit. Effort should not be deprived of fruit.

ननु च ये कृतप्रयत्नास्ते साधीयः शब्दान् प्रयोक्ष्यन्ते, त एव साधीयोऽभ्युदयेन योक्ष्यन्ते

Oh! Only those who have worked in grammar make use of words very correctly and hence only they can very well meet with merit.

व्यतिरेकोऽपि वै लक्ष्यते । दृश्यन्ते हि कृतप्रयत्नाश्चाप्रवीणाः, अकृतप्रयत्नाश्च प्रवीणाः ; तत्र फलव्यतिरेकोऽपि स्यात्

Reverse also is seen ; It is seen that those who have worked in grammar are not able to use correct words and those who have not worked at it are able to use correct words. Hence the fruit also will be reversed.

एवं तर्हि नापि ज्ञाने एव धर्मः, नापि प्रयोग एव ।

If so, there is no merit in the knowledge alone nor in the application alone.

किं तर्हि ?

Where then ?

शास्त्रपूर्वके प्रयोगेऽभ्युदयस्तत्तुल्यं वेदशब्देन

शास्त्रपूर्वकं यः शब्दान् प्रयुङ्क्ते सोऽभ्युदयेन युज्यते ; तत्तुल्यं वेदशब्देन । वेदशब्दा अप्येवमभिवदन्ति 'योऽग्निष्टोमेन यजते य उ चैनमेवं वेद' 'योऽग्निं नाचिकेतं चिनुते य उ चैनमेवं वेद' ॥

Merit only from the *prayoga* after the study of grammar and it is similar to the sacrifices signified by the Vedic expressions. He who makes use of words after the study of grammar meets with merit. It is similar to those which are signified by Vedic expressions. They say thus :—He who performs *Agnistoma* and knows how it should be done ; he who performs *Nāciketacayana* and knows how it should be done.

अपर आह तत्तुल्यं वेदशब्देनेति—यथा वेदशब्दा नियमपूर्वमधीताः फलवन्तो भवन्त्येवं यः शास्त्रपूर्वकं शब्दान् प्रयुङ्क्ते सोऽभ्युदयेन युज्यत इति

Another interprets the expression *tat tulyam veda-śabdena* thus :—As the Vedic texts studied according to the enjoined rules are fruitful, so also he who makes use of words after studying grammar meets with merit.

From the above it is clear that, according to the Vārttikakāra, merit accrues only from *prayoga* preceded by

[1] Vedaśabdaḥ is split in two ways :— (1) *Veda-śabdaḥ* [illegible] and (2) *Vedaśabdena* [illegible]

vyākaraṇādhyayana. Mahābhāṣyakāra seems to differ from him and hence opens the same topic again.

अथवा पुनरस्तु ज्ञान एव धर्म इति

Or let the merit accrue only from knowledge.

ननु चोक्तम् ज्ञाने धर्म इति चेत्तथाधर्म इति

Was it not said that if *dharma* is from *jñāna, adharma* will similarly accrue?

नैष दोषः, शब्दप्रमाणका वयम्, यच्छब्द आह तदस्माकं प्रमाणम् । शब्दश्च शब्दज्ञाने धर्ममाह, नापशब्दज्ञानेऽधर्मम् । यच्च पुनरशिष्टाप्रतिषिद्धं नैव तद् दोषाय भवति, नाभ्युदयाय । तद्यथा हिक्कितहसितकण्डूयितानि नैव दोषाय भवन्ति नाभ्युदयाय ॥

No, this harm will never be. We have *śabda* for our authority; whatever *śabda* says is authority for us, *śabda* says that merit accrues from the knowledge of words and it does not say that demerit accrues from the knowledge of corrupt words. That which is neither enjoined nor forbidden produces neither merit nor demerit *e.g.,* hiccough, laugh, and scratching produce neither demerit nor merit.

अथवा अभ्युपाय एवापशब्दज्ञानं शब्दज्ञाने । यो ह्यपशब्दाञ्जानाति शब्दानप्यसौ जानाति । तदेवं ज्ञाने धर्म इति ब्रुवतोऽर्थादापन्नं भवति 'अपशब्दज्ञानपूर्वके शब्दज्ञाने धर्मः' इति

Or the knowledge of corrupt forms of words leads to that of correct ones; he who knows the corrupt forms knows the correct ones also. Hence the statement of him who says that knowledge gives merit leads of its own accord to the inference that knowledge of correct words preceded by that of corrupt forms gives merit.

अथवा, कूपखानकवदेतद्भविष्यति । तद्यथा, कूपखानकः कूपं खनन् यद्यपि मृदा पांसुभिश्चावकीर्णो भवति, सोऽप्सु संजातासु तत एव तं गुणमासादयति, येन स च दोषो निर्हण्यते, भूयसा चाभ्युदयेन योगो भवति । एवमिहापि यद्यप्यपशब्दज्ञानेऽधर्मस्तथापि यस्त्वसौ शब्दज्ञाने धर्मस्तेन च स दोषो निर्घानिष्यते, भूयसा चाभ्युदयेन योगो भविष्यति ॥

Or this may be like a well-sinker. A well-sinker, though he is stuck in the mud and is covered with dust in the process of sinking the well, gets himself rid of the mud and dust with the water as soon as he reaches it, and gets plenty of good from it. So also here even though demerit accrues from the knowledge of incorrect words, yet merit accrues from that of correct ones, which destroys the effect of the former and leads to much good.

यदप्युच्यते आचारे नियम इति याज्ञे कर्मणि स नियमोऽन्यत्रानियमः । एवं हि श्रूयते—यर्वाणस्तर्वाणो नाम ऋषयो बभूवुः प्रत्यक्षधर्माणः परापरज्ञा विदितवेदितव्या अधिगतयाथातथ्याः । ते तत्रभवन्तो यद्वानस्तद्वान इति प्रयोक्तव्ये यर्वाणस्तर्वाण इति प्रयुञ्जते, याज्ञे पुनः कर्मणि नापभाषन्ते । तैः पुनरसुरैर्याज्ञे कर्मण्यपभाषितम्, ततस्ते पराभूताः ।

As regards the statement *ācāre niyamaḥ*, it should be taken that the *niyama* has only to sacrifice so that there may be *aniyama* elsewhere. For it is mentioned in the Vedas that the reverend sages named *Yarvāṇa* and *Tarvāṇa* who could see everything with their mind's eye, who could distinguish the infinite and finite, who had *śravaṇa*, *manana* and *nididhyāsana* of *ātman* and who had become one with *paramātman* used the words *yarvāṇaḥ* and *tarvāṇaḥ* instead of *yadvānaḥ* and *tadvānaḥ* (in ordinary conversation) and pro-

* This line of argument is taken on the maxim [illegible]

nounced the correct words in sacrifices. Those *asuras*, on the other hand pronounced corrupt words in sacrifices and hence met with disaster.

Here it should be noted that the Vārttikakāra and the Mahābhāṣyakāra offer their views on this topic. The former decides that one gets merit only when he uses correct words in sacrifices and elsewhere, knowing them as such through his study of grammar. Hence the mere study of grammar does not bear any fruit and only those who have studied grammar and make correct use of them can get dharma. But on the other hand Mahābhāṣyakāra decides that the study of grammar brings merit (ज्ञाने धर्मः) and only correct words should be used at sacrifices whether they have studied grammar or not (याज्ञे कर्मणि नियमः).

VIII

In the first āhnika the statement शास्त्रेण धर्मनियमः is found. There the word शास्त्र denotes व्याकरण. This is evident from the following statements of Mahābhāṣyakāra रक्षार्थं वेदानामध्येयं व्याकरणम्, तस्मादध्येयं व्याकरणम्, न चान्तरेण व्याकरणम्, किं पुनरिदं व्याकरणमेवाधिजिगांसमानेभ्यः व्याकरणं स्मार्थायेतेः अनर्थकं व्याकरणम् etc.

Now begins the discussion of the meaning of the word *vyākaraṇa.*

अथ व्याकरणमित्यस्य शब्दस्य कः पदार्थः

Now what is the meaning of the word *vyākaraṇa*?

सूत्रम् Sutra.

सूत्रे व्याकरणे षष्ठ्यर्थोऽनुपपन्नः

सूत्रे व्याकरणे षष्ठ्यर्थो नोपपद्यते व्याकरणस्य सूत्रम् इति। किं हि तदन्यत्सूत्राद् व्याकरणं यस्येदं सूत्रं स्यात्

Vyakaranam being sutra, unsuitability of the sixth case meaning. If *Vyakarana* means *sutra*, sixth case meaning in the expression "*Vyakaranasya sutram*" won't suit. Is it then that *Vyakarana* is different from sutra so that it may be said that this sutra is of that?

शब्दाप्रतिपत्तिः

शब्दानां चाप्रतिपत्तिः प्राप्नोति, व्याकरणाच्छब्दान्प्रतिपद्यामहे इति। न हि सूत्रत एव शब्दान्प्रतिपद्यन्ते।

Non-knowledge of *sabdas*. Knowledge of words cannot be had in the manner in which it is generally known that we get the knowledge of words from *Vyakarana*, for words are not understood only from sutras.

किं तर्हि? Whence then?

व्याख्यानतश्च From the commentary also.

ननु च तदेव सूत्रं विगृहीतं व्याख्यानं भवति।

Is it not that the same sutra split into words becomes commentary?

न केवलानि चर्चापदानि व्याख्यानम् वृद्धिः आत् ऐच् इति

The mere repetition of words composing a sutra like *vṛddhiḥ, āt, aic* does not serve as commentary.

किं तर्हि? What then?

उदाहरणं प्रत्युदाहरणं वाक्याध्याहार इत्येतत्समुदितं व्याख्यानं भवति

Example, counter-examples, filling in the ellipses in the sentence—all these put together form the commentary.

एवं तर्हि शब्दः

If so, *śabda* is *vyākaraṇa*.

शब्दे ल्युडर्थः

यदि शब्दो व्याकरणं ल्युडर्थो नोपपद्यते, व्याक्रियन्ते शब्दा अनेनेति व्याकरणम् । न हि शब्देन किंचिद् व्याक्रियते ।

Śabda being *Vyākaraṇa*, the (unsuitability of the) meaning of the suffix *ana*. If śabda is taken to be *vyākaraṇa*, the meaning of the suffix *ana* in the word *vyākaraṇa* does not suit since it is derived as *vyākriyante śabdā anena*; for nothing is analysed into *prakṛti* and *pratyaya* on the authority of *śabda*.

केन तर्हि ? If so, by what?

सूत्रेण । By sutra.

भवे च तद्धितः

भवे च तद्धितो नोपपद्यते, व्याकरणे भवो योगो वैयाकरण इति । न हि शब्दे भवो योगः

The unsuitability of the secondary suffix in the sense of *bhava*. The secondary suffix which has the sense of *existing* in the word *vaiyākaraṇa*, which means the sutra in *vyākaraṇa*, does not suit, for sutra does not exist in *śabda*.

क्व तर्हि ? Where then?

सूत्रे In the sūtra.

प्रोक्तादयश्च तद्धिताः

प्रोक्तादयश्च तद्धिता नोपपद्यन्ते, पाणिनिना प्रोक्तं पाणिनीयम्, आपिशलं काशकृत्स्नम् इति । न हि पाणिनिना शब्दाः प्रोक्ताः ।

Besides, the unsuitability of the secondary suffixes used in the sense 'said by' etc. The secondary suffixes used in the sense 'said by' etc in the words *Pāṇinīyam*—that which is said by *Pāṇini*—*Āpiśalam Kāśakṛtsnam* do not fit in; for *śabdas* are not said by Pāṇini.

किं तर्हि ? What then?

सूत्रम् Sūtra.

किमर्थमिदमुच्यते भवे प्रोक्तादयश्च तद्धिता इति, न प्रोक्तादयश्च तद्धिता इत्येव, भवेऽपि तद्धितश्चोदितः स्यात् ।

What for have the two—*bhave, proktādayaśca taddhitāḥ* been said here instead of the latter alone, since it can include the former also?

पुरस्तादिदमाचार्येण दृष्टम् भवे च तद्धिता इति, तत् पठितम्; तत उत्तरकालमिदं दृष्टं प्रोक्तादयश्च तद्धिता इति, तदपि पठितम्, न चेदानीमाचार्याः सूत्राणि कृत्वा निवर्तयन्ति ।

First this struck Ācārya '*bhave ca taddhitaḥ*' and it was read; then was he struck with '*proktādayaśca taddhitāḥ*' and it was read. Ācāryas do not stop after writing the sūtras without revising them.

अयं तावददोषः यदुच्यते शब्दे ल्युडर्थ इति । नावश्यं करणाधिकरणयोरेव ल्युड् विधीयते ।

The objection *śabde lyuḍarthaḥ* does not stand, since the suffix *ana* is not invariably used in the sense of instrument or place of action.

किं तर्हि ? Where then?

अन्येष्वपि कारकेषु। कृत्यल्युटो बहुलम् इति, तद्यथा प्रस्कन्दनं, प्रपतनम् इति।

In the meanings of other cases also; it is used to denote *apadana* as in the words *praskandanam* and *prapatanam*.*

अथवा शब्दैरपि शब्दा व्याक्रियन्ते†-- तद्यथा गौरित्युक्ते सर्वे सन्देहा निवर्तन्ते, नाश्वो न गर्दभ इति

Or words are explained by words—*viz.* on saying the word *gauḥ*, all doubts whether the object denoted is horse or ass are removed.

अयं तर्हि दोष —भवे प्रोक्तादयश्च तद्धिताः इति

Then this defect *bhave proktādayaśca taddhitaḥ* stands

एवं तर्हि

लक्ष्यलक्षणे व्याकरणम्

लक्ष्यं च लक्षणं चैतत्समुदितं व्याकरणं भवति

If so, *Vyakarana* consists of *lakṣya* and *lakṣana* Both *lakṣya* and *lakṣaṇa* form *Vyākaraṇa.*

किं पुनर्लक्ष्यं लक्षणं च? What is *lakṣya* and what is *lakṣaṇa*?

शब्दो लक्ष्यः, सूत्रं लक्षणम् Word is *lakṣya* and sutra is *lakṣaṇa*.

एवमप्ययं दोषः, समुदाये व्याकरणशब्दः प्रवृत्तोऽवयवे नोपपद्यते, सूत्राणि चाप्यधीयान इष्यते वैयाकरण इति

* *Praskandanam* = the place from which one has slipped; *prapatanam* = the place from which one has fallen

† Here *vyākṛti* does not mean the determination of *prakṛti* and *pratyaya*, but *paribhāṣā* and *sūtrasaṃgraha*

Even then there is this defect that the word *vyākaraṇa* which denotes a whole cannot denote its part But one who studies sutras alone is taken to be a *vaiyākaraṇa*

नैष दोषः, समुदायेषु हि शब्दाः प्रवृत्ता अवयवेष्वपि वर्तन्ते, तद्यथा—पूर्वे पञ्चालाः, उत्तरे पञ्चालाः, तैलं भुक्तं, घृतं भुक्तं, शुक्लो नीलः कपिलः कृष्ण इति। एवमयं समुदाये व्याकरणशब्दः प्रवृत्तोऽवयवेष्वपि वर्तते।

It is no defect, for words denoting wholes are used to denote parts also, *viz.* East Pañcala, North Pañcala,[1] *taila* is taken in, *ghṛta* is taken in; white, blue, brown, and black, objects. So also the word *vyākaraṇa* used here to denote the whole may denote a part also.

Varttikakara has thus closed the topic with the conclusion that Vyakarana includes *lakṣya* and *lakṣaṇa*. Mahabhasyakāra is not satisfied with it and hence reopens the topic and decides that *lakṣaṇa* (sutra) alone is denoted by the word *vyākaraṇa*.

अथवा पुनरस्तु सूत्रम् Or let it denote only sutra.

ननु चोक्तम् सूत्रे व्याकरणे षष्ठ्यर्थोऽनुपपन्नः इति।

Has it not been said that if *vyākaraṇa* denotes sutra, the meaning of the sixth case does not suit?

नैष दोषः; व्यपदेशिवद्भावेन भविष्यति

[1] The word Pañcala denotes the whole but in the expressions Pūrve Pañcālāḥ etc it denotes a part. *Taila* and *ghṛta* denote medicated oil and ghee, so that they refer to the ingredients also which form a part of them. Though the word *śukla* denotes only white object, yet it includes also the black border in a white cloth

It is no defect. It can be removed by adopting the principle of व्यपदेशिवद्भाव*

यदप्युच्यते शब्दाप्रतिपत्तिः इति, नहि सूत्रत एव शब्दान् प्रतिपद्यन्ते । किं तर्हि ? व्याख्यानतश्चेति ; परिहृतमेतत् , तदेव सूत्रं विगृहीतं व्याख्यानं भवतीति ।

The objection '*śabdāpratipattiḥ ... vyākhyānataśca*' was met by the statement '*tadeva sūtram vigṛhītam vyākhyānam bhavati.*'

ननु चोक्तं न केवलानि चर्चापदानि व्याख्यानं वृद्धिः आत् ऐच् इति । किं तर्हि, उदाहरणं प्रत्युदाहरणं वाक्याध्याहार इत्येतत्समुदितं व्याख्यानं भवतीति ।

Has it not been said '*na kevalāni* [illegible] *bhavati.*'?

अविजानत एतदेवं भवति । सूत्रत एव हि शब्दान् प्रतिपद्यन्ते । आतश्च सूत्रत एव, यो ह्युत्सूत्रं कथयेन्नादो† गृह्येत ।

This is with the dullard ; for words are learnt only from sutras. If, on the other hand, one deviates from *sutra*, the sound alone and not the substance will be taken to account.

Having thus discussed the meaning of the word *Vyākaraṇa* and before handling the first sutra of Ācārya Pāṇini, Mahābhāṣyakāra has to deal with the Māheśvarasutras made use of by *Pāṇini* and discussed by Vārttikakāra. He does this in the next *āhnika* in detail. In order that this

* Cf. Nimittasadbhāvāt mukhyavyapadeśo yasyāsti, sa vyapadeśī, yastu vyapadeśābhāvāt [illegible] sa tena tulyam vartate kāryam prati [illegible] bhavati iti [illegible] (Kāśikā 1-1-5 sutra 21). Though *rūpa* and *varṇa* are identical, yet there is the *vyavahāra* '[illegible]' where [illegible] takes [illegible] to be a whole and [illegible] to be a part. So also [illegible] and [illegible] are identical, yet in the prayoga 'vyākaraṇasya sūtram' the former is taken to be the whole and the latter a part.

† नादः may mean *Sound* or *not this*

āhnika may lead to it, he closes this with the next topic which deals with the Maheśvarasūtras as a whole, and which was handled by Vārttikakāra.

IX

When sounds are known from *mātṛkākṣara*, why should Pāṇini have made use of the Maheśvarasūtras ?*

अथ किमर्थो वर्णानामुपदेशः ?

Now what for are the Mahesvarasutras ?

वृत्तिसमवायार्थ उपदेशः

वृत्तिसमवायार्थो वर्णानामुपदेशः

Upadeśa is for *vṛttisamavāya*. Māhesvarasutras are intended to supply different groups of letters suited to Pāṇini's method of composing sutras.

किमिदं वृत्तिसमवायार्थ इति ?

Here what is *vṛttisamavāyārtha* ?

वृत्तये समवायो वृत्तिसमवायः, वृत्त्यर्थो वा समवायो वृत्तिसमवायः, वृत्तिप्रयोजनो वा समवायो वृत्तिसमवायः ।

Samavāya for *vṛtti*, *samavāya* for the sake of *vṛtti* and *samavāya* having for its fruit *vṛtti* †

का पुनर्वृत्तिः ? What then is *vṛttiḥ* ?

शास्त्रप्रवृत्तिः

Method of composing *sūtra* (Pāṇini's grammar)

* Even though the literal meaning is this, yet it should be taken to mean why should Pāṇini make use of Maheśvarasūtras when there is mātṛkākṣara.

† It should be noted that *vṛttisamavāya* should have for its [illegible], *vṛtteḥ samavāyaḥ*. Besides it is clear from this statement that the 14 sūtras are not the work of Pāṇini.

अथ कः समवायः ? What then is *samavāya* ?

वर्णानामानुपूर्व्येण सन्निवेशः

The grouping of letters in particular settings

अथ क उपदेशः ? What then is *upadeśa* ?

उच्चारणम् Manifestation (when *ḍhakkā* was beaten).

कुत एतत् ? How is this ?

दिशिरुच्चारणक्रियः, उच्चार्य हि वर्णानाह, उपदिष्टा इमे वर्णा इति

The root *diś* means to pronounce; only by pronouncing the letters it is said that these letters are pronounced.

अनुबन्धकरणार्थश्च

अनुबन्धकरणार्थश्च वर्णानामुपदेशः, अनुबन्धानासङ्क्ष्यामि इति, न ह्यनुपदिश्य वर्णाननुबन्धाः शक्या आसङ्क्तुम् ।

For the sake of *anubandhakaraṇa*. Maheśvarasutras are intended for *anubandha* or indicatory letter, so that I may associate them (with other letters). Without the sutras, the letters cannot be associated with indicatory letters (which are called इत् by Pāṇini).

स एष वर्णानामुपदेशो वृत्तिसमवायार्थश्च अनुबन्धकरणार्थश्च; वृत्तिसमवायश्चानुबन्धकरणं च प्रत्याहारार्थम्, प्रत्याहारो वृत्त्यर्थः ।

This list of Māheśvarasutras is for *vṛttisamavāya* and *anubandhakaraṇa*. *Vṛttisamavāya* and *anubandhakaraṇa* are for *pratyāhāra* and *pratyāhāra* is to facilitate the making of the *śastra*.

इष्टबुद्ध्यर्थश्च

इष्टबुद्ध्यर्थश्च वर्णानामुपदेशः, इष्टान् वर्णान् भोत्स्यामहे इति । न ह्यनुपदिश्य वर्णानिष्टा वर्णाः शक्या विज्ञातुम् ।

Here भोत्स्यामहे and विज्ञातुम् are causal.

For the sake of enumerating the needed ones. Maheśvara-sutras are needed to give expression to the needed letters so that we may enumerate the needed letters. Without the sutras it is not possible to express the needed letters alone.

इष्टबुद्ध्यर्थश्चेति चेदुदात्तानुदात्तस्वरितानुनासिकदीर्घप्लुतानामप्युपदेशः

इष्टबुद्ध्यर्थश्चेति चेदुदात्तानुदात्तस्वरितानुनासिकदीर्घप्लुतानामप्युपदेशः कर्तव्यः, एवंगुणा अपि हि वर्णा इष्यन्ते

If it is said *istabuddhyarthasca*, *upadesa* of letters with *udatta*, *anudatta* and *svarita*, accent and the nasalised, long and *pluta* letters (is needed). If it is said *istabuddhyarthasca*, letters with *udatta*, *anudatta* and *svarita* accents and the nasalised, long and pluta letters should be read in the 14 sutras, since we need letters having these qualities also.

आकृत्युपदेशात्सिद्धम्

अवर्णाकृतिरुपदिष्टा सर्वमवर्णकुलं ग्रहीष्यति, तथेवर्णाकृतिस्तथोवर्णाकृतिः

It is accomplished by taking that the genus of the letters is mentioned. The genus 'a' when pronounced includes the the whole 'a-family', so is the genus 'i' and the genus 'u'. †

आकृत्युपदेशात्सिद्धम् इति चेत् संवृतादीनां प्रतिषेधः

आकृत्युपदेशात् सिद्धमिति चेत संवृतादीनां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः

If it is said that it is accomplished by taking the genus, prohibition of *samvrta* and others. If it is said that it is accomplished by taking the genus, the letters with the defects of *samvrta* etc. should be prohibited.

† It must be noted that though the genus cannot be pronounced without individuality, yet prominence is given to the genus part of it.

के पुनः संवृतादयः ? What, then, are *saṁvṛtādi* ?

संवृतः, कलः, ध्मातः, एणीकृतः, अम्बूकृतः, अर्धकः, ग्रस्तः, निरस्तः, प्रगीतः, उपगीतः, क्ष्विण्णः, रोमशः, इति। अपर आह

ग्रस्तं निरस्तमवलम्बितं* हत-
मम्बूकृतं ध्मातमथो विकम्पितम्।
सन्दष्टमेणीकृतमर्धकं द्रुतं
विकीर्णमेताः स्वरदोषभावनाः ॥ इति

अतोऽन्ये व्यञ्जनदोषाः

They are sounds which are closed, pronounced in wrong place, lengthened, ambiguous, not clear, shortened, inaudible, harsh, sung, attached to the syllable that is sung, shaking, and super-loud. In the opinion of another the defective sounds are those which are inaudible, harsh, mixed with another sound, unpleasant to the ear, not clear, lengthened, shaking, prolonged, ambiguous, shortened, quick and going into another sound. Distinct from these are the defective ways of pronouncing consonants.

नैष दोषः This defect cannot stand.

गर्गादिबिदादिपाठात् संवृतादीनां निवृत्तिः

गर्गादिबिदादिपाठात् संवृतादीनां निवृत्तिर्भविष्यति

The defects *saṁvṛta* and others are avoided by *gargādi-pātha* and *bidādipātha*. The defects—*saṁvṛta* and others are avoided by Pāṇini's reading the collections of words headed by *Garga* and *Bida*.

* अविलम्बितं निर्हतम् is another reading

*अस्त्यन्यद् गर्गादिबिदादिपाठे प्रयोजनम्

There is another purpose served by *gargādibidādipatha*.

किं ? What?

समुदायानां साधुत्वं यथा स्यात् इति

So that the whole words like *Gargo* may be taken to be correct (and not their parts).

एवं तर्हि अष्टादशधा भिन्नां निवृत्तकलादिकाम् अवर्णस्य प्रत्यापत्तिं वक्ष्यामि[1]

If so, sutras इ इ, उ उ etc., like अ अ will be read so that each letter may denote only one of the correct eighteen and not the defective ones.

सा तर्हि वक्तव्या Then should it be read.

लिङ्गार्था तु प्रत्यापत्तिः

लिङ्गार्था सा तर्हि भवति

The repetition will signify something. It (repetition like इ इ, उ उ) will, then, have certain significance (that whatever defects each letter may have had in *prakriyadaśa*, it is free from them in *prayogadaśa*).

तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् Then should it be read.

यद्यप्येतदुच्यते, अथवैतर्हि अनेकमनुबन्धशतं नोच्चार्यम्, इत्संज्ञा च न वक्तव्या, लोपश्च न वक्तव्यः । यदनुबन्धैः क्रियते तत्कलादिभिः करिष्यते

* In the Benares edition it is conjectured that there should be a vārttika समुदायसाधुत्वार्थं तु गर्गादिबिदादिपाठ

Cf. अवर्णस्य अअ इति कुर्वेव, तद्वत् तदनन्तरमन्येषामपि करिष्यामि इति भावः (Uddyota)

If it is said so, then thousands of *anubandhas* (like क् and इ in इक्) need not be said, they need not be named इत् and the sutra हलन्त्यम् which enjoins their *lopa* need not be read.

सिध्यत्येवम् । अपाणिनीयं तु भवति । यथान्यासमेवास्तु ।

The object is then accomplished, but it goes against Pāṇini's sūtras. Hence let the sūtras be as they are.

ननु चोक्तम् 'आकृत्युपदेशात्सिद्धमिति चेत्संवृतादीनां प्रतिषेधः' इति

Has it not been said that, if everything is accomplished by *ākṛtyupadeśa*, prohibition of saṁvṛta and others is to be made.

परिहृतमेतत्—गर्गादिबिदादिपाठात् संवृतादीनां निवृत्तिर्भविष्यति इति

That objection has been met by the statement that the defects saṁvṛta and others are avoided by *gargādibidādi-pātha*.

ननु चान्यद् गर्गादिबिदादिपाठे प्रयोजनमुक्तम् ।

Oh! another was said to be the purpose served by *gargādibidādipatha*.

किम्? What?

समुदायानां साधुत्वं यथा स्यादिति

So that the whole words may be taken to be correct.

एवं तर्हि उभयमनेन क्रियते, पाठश्चैव विशेष्यते, कलादयश्च निवर्त्यन्ते

If so, both are accomplished by it—the correct reading is understood and the defects are removed.

कथं पुनरेकेन यत्नेनोभयं लभ्यम्?

How can both be accomplished through one effort?

शक्यमित्याह Can be accomplished, says he.

कथम् ? How?

द्विगता अपि हेतवो भवन्ति। तद्यथा—आम्राश्च सिक्ताः पितरश्च प्रीणिता इति तथा वाक्यानि द्विष्ठानि भवन्ति श्वेतो धावति, अलम्बुसानां याता इति।

There are causes which have two effects :—*viz.* Mango trees are watered and manes are satisfied. So also are sentenees having two meanings *viz.*, *śvēto dhāvati* (white man cleans; dog runs from here); *alambusānām yātā*. (He who goes to *alambusa*; one that can get the colour of straw).

अथवा इदं तावदयं प्रष्टव्यः—क्वेमे संवृतादयः श्रूयेरन्निति।

Or he is to be put this question, 'where can be heard the defective sounds like *saṁvṛta* ?'

आगमेषु In augments.

आगमाः शुद्धाः पठ्यन्ते Augments are correctly read.

विकारेषु तर्हि If so, in *adēśas.*

विकारा अपि शुद्धाः पठ्यन्ते Adēśas also are correctly read.

प्रत्ययेषु तर्हि If so, in *pratyayas.*

प्रत्यया अपि शुद्धाः पठ्यन्ते
Even *pratyayas* are correctly read.

धातुषु तर्हि In roots then.

धातवोऽपि शुद्धाः पठ्यन्ते Even roots are correctly read

प्रातिपदिकेषु तर्हि In stems then.

अलम्बुसानाम् = पलालवर्णानाम् (Annambhatta) [illegible] (Nagojibhatta)

प्रातिपदिकान्यपि शुद्धानि पठ्यन्ते Even stems are correctly read.

यानि तर्ह्यग्रहणानि प्रातिपदिकानि ?

Those stems which are not derivable from roots?

एतेषामपि स्वरवर्णानुपूर्वीज्ञानार्थ उपदेशः कर्तव्यः, शशः षष इति मा भूत्, पलाशः पलाष इति मा भूत्, मञ्चको मञ्जक इति मा भूत्

Enumeration of such stems also need be made so that the nature and order of sounds in them may be known and शश, पलाश, and मञ्चक may not be misread as षष, पलाष and मञ्जक respectively.

आगमाश्च विकाराश्च प्रत्ययाः सह धातुभिः ।
उच्चार्यन्ते ततस्तेषु नेमे प्राप्ताः कलादयः ॥

Augments, substitutes and suffixes are correctly read with roots. Hence there is no opportunity for the defects like *kala* to happen there.

From the above it is clear that the objection "इष्टबुद्ध्यर्थश्चेति उपदेशः" does not stand. Hence इष्टबुद्ध्यर्थश्च need not be mentioned as a *prayojana*.*

इति श्रीमद्भगवत्पतञ्जलिविरचिते महाभाष्ये प्रथमस्याध्यायस्य प्रथमपादे प्रथममाह्निकम् ॥

Paspaśāhnika ends.

* Cf. सर्वोपदेशस्य मुख्यं फलं तु प्रत्याहारनिर्माणम् (Śabdakaustubha).

Annambhaṭṭa in his *Uddyota* has quoted a verse which says that the word *paspaśa* means *upodghāta* or introduction.

शास्त्रस्यारम्भको ग्रन्थ उपोद्घात इतीरितः ।
स एव ग्रन्थसन्दर्भैः पस्पशः कथितो बुधैः ॥

He has mentioned the word पस्पश in the masculine gender. But Nāgojibhaṭṭa has mentioned पस्पशा in the feminine gender (Cf. अत एव पस्पशायाम् भाष्ये Laghumañjūṣā) under the topic वृद्धवाक्यं न प्रमाणम् in निरर्थकनिरूपण.

2. प्रत्याहाराह्निकम्

Having dealt with the use of the fourteen Mahesvarasutras *in toto* at the end of the previous *ahnika*, Mahabhasyakara deals with the following eight sutras in detail in this *ahnika* :- अइउण्, ऋऌक्, एओङ्, ऐऔच्, हयवरट्, लण्, ञमङणनम् and झभञ्. Hence this ahnika is called प्रत्याहाराह्निकम्

अ इ उ ण्

There are three topics in this sutra. There should be vivrtópadésa (1) in अ of अइउण्, (2) in अ of roots, stems etc. and (3) in अ of the sutras like अस्य च्वौ, यस्येति च.

अकारस्य विवृतोपदेश आकारग्रहणार्थः

अकारस्य विवृतोपदेशः कर्तव्यः*। किं प्रयोजनम्? आकारग्रहणार्थम्। अकारः सवर्णग्रहणेन आकारमपि यथा गृह्णीयात्

The *vivrtopadesa* of *akara* is to comprehend *akara* also. The *vivrtopadesa* of *akara* is necessary. Why? For the sake of comprehending *akara*—so that *akara* may comprehend *akara* by the sutra अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः which enables अण् and उदित् to comprehend *savarnas*.

* This sentence may be interpreted in two ways :-(1) The *vivrtopadesa* suggested by the sutra 'अ अ' is necessary or (2) *vivrtopadesa* must be enjoined to अ. In the latter case both vivrtopadésa and its reason are enjoined and in the former case the reason alone.

किं च कारणं न गृह्णीयात् ?

Why will it not comprehend ?

विवारभेदात्

By the difference in their *abhyantaraprayatna.*

किमुच्यते विवारभेदादिति न पुनः कालभेदादपि, यथैव ह्यस्य विवारभिन्नः एवं कालभिन्नोऽपि ?

How is it that mention is made of the difference in *abhyantaraprayatna* alone and not of the difference in *mātrā* also, since it (*ākāra*) differs from *ākāra* in mātrā in the same way as it differs from it in *abhyantaraprayatna* ?*

सत्यमेवमेतत् ; वक्ष्यति " तुल्यास्यप्रयत्नं सवर्णम् " इत्यत्र आस्यग्रहणस्य प्रयोजनम् 'आस्ये येषां तुल्यो देशः प्रयत्नश्च ते सवर्णसंज्ञा भवन्ति इति ; बाह्यश्च पुनरास्यात्कालः', तेन स्यादेव कालभिन्नस्य ग्रहणं न पुनर्विवारभिन्नस्य ।

True, so is it. Mahābhāṣyakāra is going to say in the bhāṣya under the sūtra **तुल्यास्यप्रयत्नं सवर्णम्** that the need for the word **आस्यम्** in the sūtra is to suggest that only such sounds as have the same place of articulation and the manner of articulation within the *mouth* become *savarṇas.* Quantity of a sound is determined outside the mouth. Hence one sound can comprehend another having different quantity but not having different *abhyantaraprayatna.*

किं पुनरिदं[†] विवृतस्योपदिश्यमानस्य प्रयोजनमन्वाख्यायते, आहोस्वित् संवृतस्योपदिश्यमानस्य विवृतोपदेशश्चोद्यते ?

* ताल्वादेश एव विशिष्टप्रयत्नारम्भात् ह्रस्वदीर्घादिनिष्पत्त्या ताभेदश्च आस्यात् बाह्यत्वात् कालस्य बाह्यत्वम् (Kaiyaṭa) तालुप्रदेश एव वायोः प्रकारप्रयत्नमारम्भात इति कालस्य बाह्यत्वम् अस्त्येव (Pradīpika.)

† इदम् — अत्र ( ) इदमहमस्मि सत्यमुपैमि (शतपथब्राह्मणम् 1. 3. 5. 7).

Is it here that the purpose of *vivṛtopadeśa* is enumerated or that *vivṛtopadeśa* is enjoined to that which has *saṁvṛtopadeśa*?

विवृतस्योपदिश्यमानस्य प्रयोजनमन्वाख्यायते

The purpose of *vivṛtopadeśa* is enumerated.

कथं ज्ञायते ? How is it so interpreted ?

यदयम् अ अ इत्यकारस्य विवृतस्य संवृततापत्त्यापत्तिं शास्ति

Since the *Sūtrakāra* enjoins in the sūtra अ अ that the *vivṛta-akāra* becomes *saṁvṛta* by the *pratyāpatti*.

नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम्, अस्ति ह्यन्यदेतस्य वचने प्रयोजनम्

This sutra does not suggest it; for another purpose is served by it.

किम् ? What is it ?

अतिखट्वः अतिमालः इत्यत्र आन्तर्यतो विवृतस्य विवृतः प्राप्नोति, संवृतः स्यादित्येवमर्था प्रत्यापत्तिः

Vivṛta-akāra will replace *vivṛta-akāra* in the words अतिखट्वः and अतिमालः on account of similarity; the *pratyāpatti* is for the sake of *saṁvṛta-akāra* replacing *vivṛta-akāra* in them.

नैतदस्ति; नैव लोके न च वेदे अकारो विवृतोऽस्ति

No, that cannot be; there is no *vivṛta-akāra* either in ordinary usage or in Vēda.

कस्तर्हि ?

If so, which is it (that is found in *loka* or Veda)?

* It may be interesting to note that *a* is now pronounced in Southern India only as an open sound and it may be due to the influence of the pronunciation of *a* in Tamil language.

संवृतः । योऽस्ति स भविष्यति । तदेतत्प्रत्यापत्तिवचनं* ज्ञापकमेव भविष्यति विवृतस्योपदिश्यमानस्य प्रयोजनमन्वाख्यायत इति

Samvṛta-akara. That which is, appears there. Hence the statement of *pratyāpatti* suggests that the purpose of *vivṛtopadeśa* is enumerated

कः पुनरत्र विशेषः विवृतस्योपदिश्यमानस्य प्रयोजनमन्वाख्यायेत, संवृतस्योपदिश्यमानस्य वा विवृतोपदेशः चोद्येत इति ?

What is the speciality here whether it is taken that the purpose of *vivṛtopadeśa* is enumerated or that *vivṛtopadeśa* is enjoined to that which has *samvṛtopadeśa* ?

न खलु कश्चिद्विशेषः; आहोपुरुषिकामात्रं तु; भवानाह संवृतस्योपदिश्यमानस्य विवृतोपदेशश्चोद्यते इति, वयं तु ब्रूमः विवृतस्योपदिश्यमानस्य प्रयोजनमन्वाख्यायत इति
No speciality whatsoever; it is only conceit; you say that *vivṛtopadeśa* is enjoined to that which has *samvṛtopadeśa* and we say that the purpose of *vivṛtopadeśa* is enumerated.

II

तस्य विवृतोपदेशादन्यत्रापि विवृतोपदेशः सवर्णग्रहणार्थः

तस्यैतस्याक्षरसमाम्नायिकस्य विवृतोपदेशादन्यत्रापि विवृतोपदेशः कर्तव्यः

On account of its *vivṛtopadeśa*, there is need for *vivṛtopadeśa* elsewhere to comprehend like sounds. Since there has been *vivṛtopadeśa* in the *akara* of अइउण् of the Maheśvara-sutras, there is need to declare *vivṛtopadeśa elsewhere also.*

कान्यत्र ? Which does elsewhere refer to ?

* प्रत्यापत्तिः = Reversion to original state. *Cf.* स्वरूपाद्धि प्रच्युतस्य पुनः स्वरूपे अवस्थानं प्रत्यापत्तिः (Uddyotana).

धातुप्रातिपदिकप्रत्ययनिपातस्थस्य

The *akara* in *dhatu*, *pratipadika*, *pratyaya* and *nipata*.

किं प्रयोजनम् ! Why ?

सवर्णग्रहणार्थं, आक्षरसमाम्नायिकेनास्य ग्रहणं यथा स्यात्

So that it may comprehend *like sounds*. So that this may be comprehended by the *akara* of Mâhêśvarasutras.

किं च कारणं न स्यात् ?

Why will it not be comprehended ?

विवारभेदादेव

Evidently through the d.fference in the *abhyantaraprayatna*.

आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति भवत्याक्षरसमाम्नायिकेन धात्वादिस्थस्य ग्रहणमिति, यदयम् अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः इति प्रत्याहारे अको ग्रहणं करोति

Acarya's usage suggests that the *akara* of *dhātu*, etc., is comprehended by that in Mahesvarasutras since he uses the word *akaḥ* in the sutra अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम् ?

How is it to be interpreted so that it may become a *jñapaku* ?

न हि द्वयोराक्षरसमाम्नायिकयोर्युगपत्समवस्थानमस्ति

For two *akaras* do not exist s.multaneously in Mâheśvara-sutras.

नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम्, अस्ति ह्यन्यदेतस्य वचने प्रयोजनम्

This cannot become a *jñapaka*, for there is another purpose served by the use of this *akaḥ*.

किम्? What is it?

यस्याक्षरसमाम्नायिकेन ग्रहणमस्ति तदर्थमेतत्स्यात् खट्वाढकं, मालाढकम् इति

It is used where it can be applied to the *akāras* comprehended by *a* in the Maheśvarasūtras—*viz.*, खट्वाढकम्, मालाढकम्.[1]

सति प्रयोजने न ज्ञापकं भवति, तस्मात् विवृतोपदेशः कर्तव्यः

If there is a *prayojana*, it does not become a *jñāpaka* and hence there is need for *vivṛtopadeśa*.

क एष यत्नश्चोद्यते विवृतोपदेशो नाम, विवृतो वा उपदिश्येत संवृतो वा, को न्वत्र विशेषः?[2]

What for is this attempt about *vivṛtōpadēśa*? Let *vivṛtopadeśa* be made or *saṃvṛtopadeśa*, what is the difference?

स एष सर्व एवमर्थो यत्नः क्रियते, यान्येतानि प्रातिपदिकान्यग्रहणानि, तेषामेतेनाभ्युपायेन उपदेशश्चोद्यते. तद् गुरु भवति। तस्माद्वक्तव्यं धात्वादिस्थश्च विवृत इति

All this attempt is made for the sake of non-derivable stems. If this *vivṛtopadeśa* is not made, all such stems will have to be read and it will be a stupendous task. Hence the *akāra* of *dhātu* etc., should have *vivṛtopadeśa*.

दीर्घप्लुतवचने च संवृतनिवृत्त्यर्थः

दीर्घप्लुतवचने च संवृतनिवृत्त्यर्थो विवृतोपदेशः कर्तव्यः, दीर्घप्लुतौ संवृतौ मा भूताम् इति वृक्षाभ्यां, देवदत्ता३ इति

To ward off *saṃvṛtatva* in the long and *pluta* sounds. There is need for *vivṛtopadeśa* to ward off *saṃvṛtatva* in long and

[1] It may be applied where ā and a coalesce since ā is comprehended by the *a* of अइउण् on the strength of the sūtra अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः.

[2] This question is based upon the assumption that the *akāra* in *dhātu* etc., is read with *vivṛtaprayatna*.

pluta sounds (i.e.) that long and pluta sounds in words like वृक्षाभ्यां, देवदत्ता ३ may not become *samvṛta*

नैव लोके न च वेदे दीर्घप्लुतौ संवृतौ स्तः.

Neither in usage nor in Veda are long and pluta sounds closed ones.

कौ तर्हि? What then?

विवृतौ, यौ स्तः तौ भविष्यतः

Open ones; those that are will certainly appear.

स्थानी प्रकल्पयेदेतावनुस्वारो यथा यणम्

संवृत स्थानी संवृतौ दीर्घप्लुतौ प्रकल्पयेत्, अनुस्वारो यथा यणम्, तद्यथा सय्ँयन्ता सव्ँवत्सरः, यल्ँलोकं, तल्ँलोकम् इति; अनुस्वारः स्थानी यणमनुनासिकं प्रकल्पयति।

Sthānin will produce these two as *anusvara* brings in nasalised semi-vowels. The closed *sthānin* will bring in closed long and pluta sounds as anusvara brings in nasalised semi-vowels. *e.g.*, सय्ँयन्ता, सव्ँवत्सरः, यल्ँलोकम्, तल्ँलोकम्. The *sthānin* which is anusvara brings in nasalised semi-vowels.

विषम उपन्यासः, युक्तं यत्सतस्तत्र प्रक्लृप्तिर्भवति; सन्ति हि यणः सानुनासिका निरनुनासिकाश्च; दीर्घप्लुतौ पुनर्नैव लोके न च वेदे संवृतौ स्तः

The reasoning is not sound. It is but just to bring in what exists; there are semi-vowels both nasalised and non-nasalised; but the long and pluta sounds are closed ones neither in usage nor in Veda.

कौ तर्हि? What then?

विवृतौ । यौ स्तः तौ भविष्यतः

Open sounds. Those that are will appear.

एवमपि कुत एतत् तुल्यस्थानौ प्रयत्नभिन्नौ भविष्यतः, न पुनस्तुल्यप्रयत्नौ स्थानभिन्नौ स्यातामिकार उकारो वेति.

Granting this, how is it that only those that have the same organ of articulation but different *prayatnas* are taken to be like sounds and not those who have the same *prayatna* but different organs of articulation, like *i* and *u*?

वक्ष्यति स्थानेऽन्तरतमः इत्यत्र स्थाने इत्यनुवर्तमाने पुनः स्थानेग्रहणस्य प्रयोजनं यत्र अनेकविधमान्तर्यं तत्र स्थानत आन्तर्यं बलीयो भवतीति* ।

He is going to say in the *bhasya* under the sutra **स्थानेऽन्तरतमः** that, though the word **स्थाने** can be taken there to follow from the sutra **षष्ठी स्थानेयोगा**, the mention of **स्थाने** there suggests that, of the many kinds of relationships, that from the organ of articulation predominates.

III

तत्रानुवृत्तिनिर्देशे† सवर्णाग्रहणमनण्त्वात्

तत्र अनुवृत्तिनिर्देशे सवर्णानां ग्रहणं न प्राप्नोति —अस्य च्वौ, यस्येति च । किं कारणम्? अनण्त्वात्, न ह्येते अणः येऽनुवृत्तौ

There in the *akara* as in **अइउण्** there cannot be *savarna-grahana* since it is not an *aṇ*. There in the sutras **अस्य च्वौ, यस्येति च** where there is the mention of *akara* as in **अइउण्** of the Maheśvarasutras, it cannot comprehend like sounds. Why? Since it does not come under the pratyahara *aṇ*. Those which are in *anuvṛtti* are not *aṇaḥ*.

* स्थानत आन्तर्यं बलीयो यथा स्यात् is another reading.

† अनुवृत्तिनिर्देशः—वृत्तिः वर्णसमाम्नायम्, अनुगतः तत्सदृशः अनुवृत्तिः अकारादिः, तस्य निर्देशः स्वरूपेण उच्चारणम् इत्यर्थः (उद्योत under अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः)

के तर्हि ?

If so, which are *aṇaḥ* ?

येऽक्षरसमाम्नाये उपदिश्यन्ते

Those that are read in *Maheśvarasutras*.

एकत्वादकारस्य सिद्धम्

एकोऽयमकारो यश्चाक्षरसमाम्नाये यश्चानुवृत्तौ यश्च धात्वादिस्थः

The point is achieved on account of oneness of *akara*. This *akara* is one whether it is in अइउण्, अल्य च्वौ etc., or in *dhatu* etc.

अनुबन्धसंकरस्तु

अनुबन्धसंकरस्तु प्राप्नोति कर्मण्यण्, आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः इति, केऽपि णित्कृतं प्राप्नोति

Confusion in the effect of *anubandhas* There will arise confusion in the effect of the different *anubandhas*. For instance, the operation of the sutras कर्मण्यण् and आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः will be so confused that the effect of णित् will be found in कित्.

एकाजनेकाज्ग्रहणेषु चानुपपत्तिः

एकाजनेकाज्ग्रहणेषु चानुपपत्तिर्भवति

Also the inapplicability of the sutras dealing with *ekac* and *anekac*. There will arise inapplicability of the sutras dealing with words having one vowel and those having many vowels.

तत्र को दोषः ? What will be the harm there ?

भविष्यति is another reading. The word एकाच् generally means a syllable, but here it means a vowel.

किरिणा गिरिणा इत्येकाज्लक्षणमन्तोदात्तत्वं प्राप्नोति, इह च घटेन तरति घटिक इति द्व्यज्लक्षणः ष्ठन् न प्राप्नोति

In the words किरिणा and गिरिणा the final syllable will be accented since there is only one vowel *i* in both. So also the pratyaya *ṣṭhan* (sthan) which is enjoined after a word having two vowels cannot appear after the word घट so that the word घटिक used in the sense of one who crosses with the help of a pot cannot be formed.

द्रव्यवच्चोपचाराः

द्रव्यवच्चोपचाराः प्राप्नुवन्ति । तद्यथा द्रव्येषु नैकेन घटेन अनेको युगपत्कार्यं करोति; एवम् इममकारं नानेको युगपदुच्चारयेत्

Applications as in *dravyas*. Applications have to be done as in the case of *dravyas*. As many cannot simultaneously make use of one pot among *dravyas*, so also many cannot pronounce this *akāra* simultaneously.

The three objections raised against the statement एकत्वादकारस्य सिद्धम् are answered as follows :—

विपर्येण तु नानालिङ्गकरणात्सिद्धम्

यदयं विषये विषये नानालिङ्गमकारं करोति—कर्मण्यण्, आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः इति तेन ज्ञायते नानुबन्धसङ्करोऽस्तीति। यदि हि स्यात् नानालिङ्गकरणमनर्थकं स्यात्, एकमेवायं सर्वगुणमुच्चारयेत्

The point is achieved on account of the different indications in each place. Since the Acārya makes different indications in each place like 'ण्' in कर्मण्यण् and क् in आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः, it is learnt that there is no confusion in the effect of *anubandhas*. Had there been any confusion, the reading of different indications will be of no avail; he would have read only one *akara* with all *anubandhas*.

नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम्, इत्संज्ञाप्रक्लृप्त्यर्थमेतत्स्यात्; न ह्ययमनुबन्धः शल्यकवत् उत्सहते, इत्संज्ञाया हि दोषः स्यात्, आद्यस्य हि द्वयोरित्संज्ञा स्यात्। कयोः? आद्यन्तयोः

This is not a *jñāpaka* since it is intended to enable them get the designation of इत्; for it is not possible to keep *anubandhas* like porcupine (its quills), since in such a case there will be difficulty in getting the designation of इत्. All being put together, the designation of इत् is possible only for two. For which two? For the initial and the final sounds.

एवं तर्हि,

विपर्ययेण तु पूर्वलिङ्गकरणात्सिद्धम्

यदयं विषये विषये पूर्वलिङ्गकरणं करोति—प्राग्दीव्यतोऽण्, शिवादिभ्योऽण् इति, तेन ज्ञायते नानुबन्धसङ्कर इति। यदि हि स्यात् ...

If so, the point is achieved on account of the repetition of the same indicator in different places, like प्राग्दीव्यतोऽण् शिवादिभ्योऽण्. Hence it is understood that there is no *anubandhasaṅkara*. If it were, the repetition of the *anubandha* will be of no avail.

* अथवा पुनरस्तु

विपर्ययेण तु नानालिङ्गकरणात्सिद्धम्

इत्येव

Or let it be that the point is achieved on account of the different indicators in each place.

* This statement is perhaps Mahābhāṣyakāra's own.

ननु चोक्तम् — इत्संज्ञाप्रकॢप्त्यर्थमेतत् स्यात् इति ।

If [illegible] said that it is intended to enable them [illegible] designation of इत् ?

[illegible] लोकत [illegible] सिद्धम् । तद्यथा लोके कश्चित्कंचिद् देवदत्तमाह—इह मुण्डो भव [illegible] भव, इह शिखी भव, इति यल्लिङ्गो यत्रोच्यते तल्लिङ्गस्तत्रोप [illegible] यल्लिङ्गो यत्रोच्यते तल्लिङ्गस्तत्रोपस्थास्यते

No [illegible] stand. The purpose is achieved as [illegible] world. For instance, we see in the world one telling [illegible] with a shaven head, appear here [illegible] with a tuft " and Devadatta [illegible] that particular mark. So also it is only that [illegible] appears on the scene.

[illegible] गृह्यते [illegible] चानुपपत्ति [illegible] इति

एकानेकाच्त्वे[illegible]पि चावृत्तिसंख्यानात्

[illegible] संख्यानादनेकाच्त्वं भविष्यति । तद्यथा [illegible] इति, [illegible] इत्यावृत्तितः [illegible] भविष्यति

He[illegible], the [illegible] was raised about the inapplicability of the [illegible] with [illegible] and [illegible] is not thus [illegible] by counting [illegible] dealing with [illegible] and [illegible] accomplished in the sūtras dealing with [illegible] omitting the repeated sounds. For instance, [illegible] counted as seventeen (though they [illegible] by reading the first and the last [illegible] thrice [illegible]. So also [illegible] is accomplished here by the repetition of the same sound.

नैवेदावृत्तिः कार्यं परिहृतम् । इह तु खलु किरिणा गिरिणा इत्येकाज्लक्षण मन्त्योदात्तत्वं प्राप्नोति

The objection was met with by saying that the desired object is achieved by the repetition. But here in the words किरिणा and गिरिणा, only the final syllable will be accented since there is only one vowel इ in both.

एतदपि सिद्धम्

Here too the desired object is achieved.

कथम्? How?

लोकतः [illegible] तद्यथा ऋषिसहस्रमेकां कपिलामेकैकशः [illegible] तया सर्वे [illegible] ते सहस्रदक्षिणाः सम्पन्नाः [illegible] एवमिहापि अनेकाच्त्वं भविष्यति

From the world. A thousand of seers get th[illegible] given away in charity one [illegible] though th[illegible] brown cow, [illegible] giving her the [illegible] back every time from the recipient). So also [illegible] is accomplished here.

* यदप्युच्यते 'द्रव्यवच्चोपचाराः प्राप्नुवन्तीति' भवेद् [illegible] कार्यं [illegible] शुभमत्कुर्यात् [illegible] यत्तु खलु भवति कार्यं अनेकोऽपि [illegible] दर्शनं स्पर्शनं वा । संभवि चेद कार्यमकारस्योच्चारणं [illegible] करिष्यति

The objection that was raised that the operations [illegible] in the case of *dravyas* is met thus: it is true in the case of that

* It deserves to be noted that there is [illegible] of [illegible] द्रव्यवदुपचाराः . Perhaps the [illegible] also [illegible] interpreted by Mahābhāṣyakāra [illegible] omitted by the scribe.

which it is not possible for many to handle simultaneously. But in cases where many can handle the same thing at the same time it is not true. For instance the seeing of a pot or the touching of it. The pronouncing of *akāra* is thus possible; many pronounce it at the same time.

From the above it is clear that all the objections raised against the statement एकत्वादकारस्य सिद्धम् have been satisfactorily answered. Henceforth another set of objections is levelled against the same statement.

आन्यभाव्यं तु कालशब्दव्यवायात्

आन्यभाव्यं त्वकारस्य, कुतः कालशब्दव्यवायात्—कालव्यवायात् शब्दव्यवायाच्च कालव्यवायात् दण्ड अग्रम्; शब्दव्यवायात् दण्डः। न चैकस्यात्मनो व्यवायेन भवितव्यम्। भवति चेद्भवत्यान्यभाव्यमकारस्य

No, there is the state of being different on account of the intervention of time and sound. There is the state of being different in *a*. Why? On account of the intervention of time and sound. On account of the intervention of time and on account of the intervention of sound—*viz.* दण्ड-अग्रम्, दण्डः. There is no intervention for the same sound. If there is intervention, they are different.

युगपच्च देशपृथक्त्वदर्शनात्

युगपच्च देशपृथक्त्वदर्शनान्मन्यामहे आन्यभाव्यमकारस्य इति. यदयं युगपद्देशपृथक्त्वेषूपलभ्यते अश्वः अर्कः अर्थ इति। न ह्येको देवदत्तो युगपत्स्रुघ्ने च भवति मथुरायां च॥

On account of its being found simultaneously in different places. Since the *akāra* is found in different places at the same time,

we think they are different. It is found in different places at the same time in the words अर्क, अर्थ. The same Devadatta cannot be seen at the same time at Srughna and at Mathurā.

यदि पुनरिमे वर्णाः

शकुनिवत्स्युः *

यथा शकुनय आशुगामित्वात्पुरस्तादुत्पतिताः पश्चाद्दृश्यन्ते, एवमयमकारो द इत्यत्र दृष्टो ष्ड इत्यत्र दृश्यते

If these sounds are like birds. Just as the birds that seat themselves first in a row quickly fly from their places and seat themselves last, so also the akāra is first t and after 'द' and then after 'ष्ड'

नैव शक्यम्, अनित्यत्वमेव स्यात्, नित्याश्च शब्दाः, नित्येषु च शब्देषु कूटस्थैरविचालिभिर्वर्णैर्भवितव्यमनपायोपजनविकारिभिः। यदि चायं द इत्यत्र दृष्टो ष्ड इत्यत्र दृश्येत नायं कूटस्थः स्यात्

No, this is not possible, for in that case words will become anitya. They are, on the other hand, nitya and so words should have sounds which do not move, change and which are neither replaced nor augmented. If the 'a' which is seen after 'd' is afterwards seen after 'ṣḍ', it cannot be considered kūṭastha.

यदि पुनरिमे वर्णाः

* This is answered by अकारप्रत्याख्यान

आदित्यवत्स्युः *

तद्यथा एक आदित्योऽनेकाधिकरणस्थो युगपद्देशपृथक्त्वेषूपलभ्यते

If these sounds are taken to be like the sun. The one sun in different places is seen simultaneously.

विषम उपन्यासः, नैको द्रष्टा आदित्यमनेकाधिकरणस्थं युगपद्देशपृथक्त्वेषूपलभते, अकारं पुनरुपलभते ॥

The reasoning is not sound. The same observer does not see the sun in different places at the same time; but he sees so *akāra*, on the other hand.

अकारमपि नोपलभते

He does not see *akāra* also.

किं कारणम्? Why?

श्रोत्रोपलब्धिर्बुद्धिनिर्ग्राह्यः प्रयोगेणाभिज्वलित आकाशदेशः शब्दः, एकं च पुनराकाशम्

Śabda which is heard by the ear, understood by the mind and exhibited by the sound has for its place only *ākāśa* and *ākāśa* is one.

आकाशदेशा अपि बहवः, यावता बहवः तस्मादानन्त्यमकारस्य

The *ākāśadeśas* also are many. Since they are many, the manyness of *akāra* should be conceded.

* This is an answer to the objection युगपच्च कालपृथक्त्वदर्शनात् [illegible] आदित्यवद्यौगपद्यम् ([illegible] I. 1. [illegible]) अस्ति चैकस्यानेकाधिकरणस्थस्य युगपत्— आदित्य ([illegible] under सरूपाणामेकशेष एकविभक्तौ I. 2—64)

आकृतिग्रहणात्सिद्धम् *

अवर्णाकृतिरुपदिष्टा सर्वमवर्णकुलं ग्रहीष्यति, तथेवर्णाकृतिः, तथोवर्णाकृतिः

The object is achieved by taking it to refer to genus. The genus *a* when pronounced comprehends the whole family of the individuality *a*. So is the genus of *i* and so is the genus of *u*.

तद्वच्च तपरकरणम्

एवं च कृत्वा तपराः क्रियन्ते आकृतिग्रहणेनातिप्रसक्तमिति

The association of the *anubandha* त् has it (आकृतिपक्ष) in view.

ननु च सवर्णग्रहणेनातिप्रसक्तमिति कृत्वा तपराः क्रियेरन्

Are they not associated with त् to avoid the comprehension of like sounds?

प्रत्याख्यायते तत् सवर्णेऽण्ग्रहणमपरिभाष्यमाकृतिग्रहणादनन्यत्वाच्च

It is refuted thus **सवर्णेऽण्ग्रहणमपरिभाष्यमाकृतिग्रहणादनन्यत्वाच्च** (in the sūtra (**अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः**)

हल्ग्रहणेषु च

In the sūtras dealing with consonants.

किम्? What?

आकृतिग्रहणात्सिद्धमित्येव । झलो झलि अवात्ताम्, अवात्तम्, अवात्त, यत्रैतन्नास्ति अणसवर्णान् गृह्णातीति ।

The object is achieved by taking them refer to genus. The words **अवात्ताम् अवात्तम् अवात्त** will be formed from **अवास् स् ताम्**.

* *Cf.* आकृत्यभिधानाद्वैकं विभक्तौ वाजप्यायन (Translate under सरूपाणामेकशेष एकविभक्तौ 1—2—64.)

[illegible] by the [illegible] of [illegible] where there is no room for the principle अणुदित् सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः to operate.

रूपसामान्याद्वा

रूपसामान्याद्वा सिद्धमेतत् [illegible] ॥

Or by the similarity of shape.

[illegible]

[illegible] व्यक्तिपक्ष [illegible] जातिपक्ष [illegible] आकृतिग्रहणात्सिद्धम् [illegible] व्यक्तिपक्ष [illegible] रूपसामान्यात्

[illegible] अकारस्यर्कोनामानन्यसाधिस्य वार्तिककृता [illegible] [illegible] भाष्य [illegible] जातिनिर्देश [illegible] But [illegible] the vārttika "[illegible]" [illegible] the sūtra अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः [illegible] जातिपक्ष. Perhaps the statement रूपसामान्याद्वा [illegible], wherever [illegible] of the word आकृति, he takes it in both the senses of *jāti* and shape.

ऋऌक्

अथ * ऌकारोपदेशः किमर्थः ?[†]

What for is the mention of ऌ (in ऋऌक्)?

[illegible]

Why is the mention of the letter ऌ [illegible] the speciality?

[illegible]

[illegible]

अत उत्तरं पठति—

Thus does he read the answer.

ऌकारोपदेशो यदृच्छाशक्तिजानुकरणप्लुत्याद्यर्थः

Mention of ऌ is for the sake of यदृच्छाशब्द, अशक्तिज, अनुकरणशब्द and प्लुत्यादि

* ऌकारस्य उपदेशः is another reading

† कृपो रो लः 8—2—18

ऌकारोपदेशः क्रियते यदृच्छाशब्दार्थं अशक्तिजानुकरणार्थं प्लुत्याद्यर्थश्च । यदृच्छाशब्दार्थस्तावत् — यदृच्छया कश्चित् ऌतको नाम, तस्मिन्कार्याणि यथा स्यु: दध्ल्तकाय देहि, मध्ल्तकाय देहि, उदगॢतकोऽगमत्, प्रत्यगॢतकोऽगमत् । चतुष्टयी शब्दानां प्रवृत्तिः, जातिशब्दाः गुणशब्दाः क्रियाशब्दाः, यदृच्छाशब्दाश्चतुर्थाः

Mention is made of ऌ for the sake of यदृच्छाशब्द, अशक्तिजानुकरणशब्द and प्लुत्यादि. First for the sake of यदृच्छाशब्द (i.e.) word coined at random to name a person or object without its being formed from any root. One is named ऌतक. When that word is used, the vowel rules have to operate, e.g. दध्ल्तकाय (दधि ऌतकाय) देहि, मध्ल्तकाय (मधु ऌतकाय) देहि, उदगॢतकः (उदक् ऌतकः) अगमत्, प्रत्यगॢतकः (प्रत्यक् ऌतकः) अगमत्. The flow of words is fourfold — जातिशब्दाः (words denoting genus), गुणशब्दाः (words denoting quality), क्रियाशब्दाः (words denoting action) and यदृच्छाशब्दाः.

अशक्तिजानुकरणार्थं — अशक्त्या कयाचित् ब्राह्मण्या ऋतक इति प्रयोक्तव्ये ऌतक इति प्रयुक्तं, तस्यानुकरणं ब्राह्मण्यॢतक इत्याह कुमार्यॢतक इत्याह इति

For the sake of imitating the word mispronounced on account of incapacity. On account of incapacity ऋतक was mispronounced as ऌतक by a Brahmin woman and it was quoted thus ब्राह्मण्यॢतक इत्याह, कुमार्यॢतक इत्याह.

प्लुत्याद्यर्थश्च । के पुनः प्लुत्यादयः । प्लुतिद्विर्वचनस्वरिताः । क्लृ३प्तशिख, क्लृप्तः, प्रक्लृप्तः ; प्लुत्यादिषु सिद्धः, तस्य सिद्धकार्याणि न सिध्यन्ति । तस्मात् ऌकारोपदेशः क्रियते

For the sake of प्लुत्यादि. What are प्लुत्यादि? प्लुति, द्विर्वचनम् and स्वरितः e.g. क्लृ३प्तशिख, क्लृप्तः, प्रक्लृप्तः. In the operations प्लुति etc. the ऌ in क्लृप्त is not ऌ and hence the vowel rules will not operate. Hence the letter ऌ should be read in the sūtra.

नैतानि सन्ति प्रयोजनानि

These are not the benefits.

न्याय्यभावात्कल्पनं संज्ञादिषु

In the case of names etc., assumption of correct form.

न्याय्यस्य ऋतकशब्दस्य भावात् कल्पनं संज्ञादिषु साधु मन्यन्ते । ऋतक एवासौ न लृतक इति । अपर आह । न्याय्य ऋतकशब्दः शास्त्रान्वितोऽस्ति स कल्पयितव्यः साधुः संज्ञादिषु. ऋतक एवासौ न लृतक

On account of the correct form ऋतक, it is to be assumed that only the correct forms should be used thus; it is ऋतक and not लृतक. Another thinks that on hearing the word लृतक, the hearer should consider that it is the corrupt form of the grammatically correct word ऋतक.*

अथ नाहं यदृच्छाशब्दोऽपरिहार्यं ऌफिडः ऌफिड्डश्चेति ।

Thus यदृच्छाशब्द ऌफिडः or ऌफिड्डः cannot be avoided.

एषोऽपि ऋफिडः ऋफिड्डश्च ।

This too is ऋफिड or ऋफिड्ड

कथम् ? How ?

ऋतिप्रवृत्तिश्चैव हि लोके लक्ष्यते फिडफिड्डावौणादिकौ प्रत्ययौ । त्रयी शब्दानां प्रवृत्तिः । जातिशब्दा गुणशब्दाः क्रियाशब्दा इति । न सन्ति यदृच्छाशब्दाः

In the word the root ऋत् is used. फिड and फिड्ड are formatives that come under the *uṇādi*. The flow of words is only

* The word ऋतक is derived from the root ऋत

threefold जातिशब्दाः, गुणशब्दाः and क्रियाशब्दाः. There are no *yadrcchāśabdas.*

अन्यथा कृत्वा प्रयोजनमुक्तम् अन्यथा कृत्वा परिहारः, सन्ति यदृच्छाशब्दा इति कृत्वा प्रयोजनमुक्तं न सन्तीति परिहारः। समाने चार्थे शास्त्रान्वितोऽशास्त्रान्वितस्य निवर्तको भवति, तद्यथा देवदत्तशब्दो देवदिण्णशब्दं निवर्तयति न गाव्यादीन्

The benefits were enumerated on the basis of one view and refutation is made on the basis of another view (i.e.,) the benefits were enumerated on the strength of the view that there are *yadrcchāśabdas* and the refutation is on the strength of the view that there are no *yadrcchāśabdas*. A grammatically correct word can make one avoid another considered to be incorrect only if both have the same प्रवृत्तिनिमित्त*; for instance the word *Devadatta* can be the correct form of *Devadiṇṇa* and not *gāvyādi.*

नैष दोषः, पक्षान्तरैरपि परिहारा भवन्ति

This is no harm, for refutations are made even on the basis of different views.

Having refuted the first point that the mention of ऌ is for the sake of *yadrcchāśabdas* he takes the second point for review.

अनुकरणं शिष्टाशिष्टाप्रतिषिद्धेषु यथा लौकिकवैदिकेषु

Imitation in the case of those that are enjoined or in the case of those neither enjoined nor prohibited as in instances found in the world and the Vēdas.

* In the previous argument ऌतक, ऌफिड etc. were considered to be यदृच्छाशब्दाs in the पूर्वपक्ष and to be गुणशब्दाs or क्रियाशब्दाs in the सिद्धान्त

अनुकरणं हि शिष्टस्य वा साधु भवति, अशिष्टाप्रतिषिद्धस्य वा, नैव तद्दोषाय भवति नाभ्युदयाय, यथा लौकिकवैदिकेषु—यथा लौकिकेषु वैदिकेषु च कृतान्तेषु । लोके तावत् य एवमसौ ददाति य एवमसौ यजते य एवमसावधीत इति तस्यानुकुर्वन् ददाच्च यजेत चाधीयीत च सोऽप्यभ्युदयेन युज्यते, वेदेऽपि य एवं विश्वसृजः सत्राण्यध्यासत इति तेषामनुकुर्वन् तद्वत्सत्राण्यध्यासीत सोऽप्यभ्युदयेन युज्यते । अशिष्टाप्रतिषिद्धं यथा—य एवमसौ हिक्कति य एवमसौ हसति य एवमसौ कण्डूयति इति तस्यानुकुर्वन् हिक्केच्च हसेच्च कण्डूयेच्च, नैव तद्दोषाय स्यान्नाभ्युदयाय । यस्तु खल्वेवमसौ ब्राह्मणं हन्ति एवमसौ सुरां पिबति इति तस्यानुकुर्वन् ब्राह्मणं हन्यात् सुरां वा पिबेत्, सोऽपि मन्ये पतितः स्यात्

Imitation is either of the enjoined ones, which is good, or of that which is neither enjoined nor prohibited, which brings in neither demerit nor merit. As is found in those of the world and the Vedas—as is found in the incidents of the world and the Vedas. First in the world: he too who, seeing that another gives away in charity, performs sacrifices and studies the Vedas, imitates him and gives away in charity, performs sacrifices and studies the Vedas gets merit. In the Vedas also he who seeing Viśvasṛjas performing *sattras* imitates them and performs *sattras*, he too gets merit. That which is neither enjoined nor prohibited is illustrated thus: he who seeing another hiccoughing, laughing or scratching in a peculiar fashion imitates him and hiccoughs, laughs or scratches in the same way gets neither merit nor demerit. Similarly he who seeing another killing a brahmin in a particular way and drinking wine in a peculiar fashion imitates him, kills a brahmin and drinks wine is, in my opinion, an apostate.

विषम उपन्यासः । यश्चैव हन्ति यश्चानुहन्ति उभौ तौ हतः, यश्चापि पिबति यश्चानुपिबति उभौ तौ पिबतः । यस्तु खल्वेवमसौ ब्राह्मणं हन्ति एवमसौ सुरां

[illegible] कदलीमिव [illegible] हिन्स्यात्* यो वा पिबेत् न स मन्ये पतितः स्यात् ।

[illegible] He who kills thus and [illegible] both [illegible] But, on the other hand, [illegible] in my opinion, an apostate.

[illegible] प्रयुङ्क्ते इति [illegible] [illegible] स्यात् । [illegible] शब्दो [illegible] कर्तव्य । [illegible] शब्दोऽपशब्दो [illegible] अवश्य [illegible] विज्ञेयम् । यो हि मन्यते [illegible] शब्दोऽपशब्दो भवतीति, [illegible] इत्येव [illegible] स्यात्, न चैषोऽपशब्दः

[illegible] another using ungrammatical words uses the same [illegible] This word [illegible] another which [illegible] the ungrammatical word, for which *upad* [illegible] necessary

* This refers to *kadalī-vivāha Cf.*

अर्कोद्वाहो [illegible] ।
[illegible] ।
[illegible] यथाशक्ति हिरण्यकम् ।
[illegible] ॥
तृतीया [illegible] चरेद् बुधः ।
[illegible] मानवः ॥
[illegible] भवेदिति बोधायनोऽब्रवीत् ॥

(*Bodhāyana's Gṛhyasūtra* 5th *praśna* 5th Chapter)

and

Sāmaveda Gṛhya-pariśiṣṭa prapāṭhaka 1—24

The word which connotes an incorrect word is not incorrect. This should be clearly understood that he who thinks that the word which connotes an incorrect word is incorrect should have to say that the word अपशब्द is ungrammatical, which is not the case.

Mahābhāṣyakāra, taking recourse to the *nyāya* तुष्यतु दुर्जनः proceeds thus:—*

अथ [illegible] अनुकरणशब्दे [illegible] उपदेश कर्तव्य [illegible] कारमर्थानि [illegible] इति

[illegible] अनुकरणशब्द [illegible] [illegible]

कस्य पुनरेतदनुकरणम्?

Where is this लृ [illegible]?

क्लृपिस्थस्य

In the word क्लृप्.

यदि क्लृपिस्थस्य, क्लृपेश्च लत्वमसिद्धम्, तस्य सिद्धत्वात् ऋकार एवाच्कार्याणि भविष्यन्ति

If it is of क्लृप्, the [illegible] of क्लृप् [illegible] the vowel laws operate to ऋ.

* [illegible]

भवेत्तद्दर्शनेन नार्थः स्यात्। अयं त्वन्यः कॢप्तिस्थपदार्थकः शब्दः यदर्थ उपदेशः कर्तव्यः

It may be that it may not be useful on that account, but this word is one which contains the letter in the word कॢप्त, for which there is need for the *upadeśa*.

न कर्तव्यः। इदमवश्यं वक्तव्यम्* 'प्रकृतिवदनुकरणम् भवति' इति

It need not be done. This should be accepted that the imitator is like the imitated.

किं प्रयोजनम्? Why?

द्विः पचन्त्वित्याह। तिङ्ङतिङः इति निघातो यथा स्यात्। अग्नी इत्याह ईदूदेद्द्विवचनं प्रगृह्यम्† इति प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा यथा स्यात्

In the expression द्विः पचन्तु इत्याह the verb पचन्तु should have its syllables unaccented by the operation of the rule तिङ्ङतिङः. In the expression अग्नी इत्याह, अग्नी should get the प्रगृह्यसंज्ञा by the operation of the rule ईदूदेद्द्विवचनं प्रगृह्यम्.

यदि प्रकृतिवदनुकरणं भवतीत्युच्यते अपशब्द एवासौ भवति कुमार्यॢतक इत्याह ब्राह्मण्यॢतक इत्याह, अपशब्दो ह्यस्य प्रकृतिः। न चापशब्दः प्रकृतिः, न ह्यपशब्दा उपदिश्यन्ते, न चानुपदिष्टा प्रकृतिरस्ति।

If the principle प्रकृतिवदनुकरणम् is conceded, the word ऌतक in the expressions कुमार्यॢतक इत्याह, ब्राह्मण्यॢतक इत्याह will become an *apaśabda*, since its प्रकृति is *apaśabda*. *Apaśabda* cannot be taken as *prakṛti*; for *apaśabdas* are not read, and that which is not read is not *prakṛti*.

* वक्तव्यम् is another reading.

† ईदूदेद्द्विवचनं प्रगृह्यम् भवति is another reading

From the above it is [illegible] that, according to [illegible], imitator also is [illegible] and hence ऌ need not be read in the *sūtra* on that score. According to [illegible], imitator of an [illegible] is not an [illegible] and the principle प्रकृतिवदनुकरणं भवति cannot operate here and hence ऌ should be read in the *sūtra*.

Having refuted the first two, he takes the third point for review.

एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वात्प्लुत्यादयः

Pluti and others on account of the principle एकदेशविकृतमनन्यवत्

एकदेशविकृतमनन्यवद्भवतीति प्लुत्यादयोऽपि भविष्यन्ति

An object which is maimed [illegible] is not [illegible] but the same and hence *pluti* and others will appear.

यद्येकदेशविकृतमनन्यवद्भवतीत्युच्यते राज्ञः क च राजकीयम्, अल्लोपोऽन इति लोपः प्राप्नोति ।

If the principle एकदेशविकृतमनन्यवद्भवति is conceded, the अ after ज in राजकीयम which is the result of राज्ञः क च will have to be dropped on account of the operation of the *sūtra* अल्लोपोऽनः

एकदेशविकृतमनन्यवत् षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टस्य *

The principle एकदेशविकृतमनन्यवद्भवति applies to that which is indicated by the genetive case. †

* एकदेशविकृतमनन्यवत् षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टस्य इति वक्तव्यम् [illegible]

† In the [illegible] राज्ञः क च [illegible] राजन [illegible] indicated by the genetive [illegible] अ [illegible] to अन् in the *sūtra* अल्लोपोऽनः

यदि षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टस्येत्युच्यते क्लृप्तशिख इति लत्वं न प्राप्नोति, न ह्यत्र ऋकारः षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टः

If it is said that it holds good only to that which is indicated by the genetive case, *rule of l* in क्लृप्तशिख cannot be got, since here in the *sūtra* (कृपो रो लः) ऋ is not indicated by the genetive case.

कस्तर्हि ? What then ?

रेफः र.

ऋकारोऽप्यत्र षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टः ।

R also is here indicated by the genetive case.

कथम् ? How ?

अविभक्तिको निर्देशः, कृप उः रः लः कृपो रो लः इति ।

Mention of the stem without the case-suffix is made, so that कृपो रो लः is split thus— कृप, उः, रः लः *

अथवा पुनरस्तु अविशेषेण

Or let the *rule* एकदेशविकृतमनन्यवद् भवति apply without any reservation.

ननु चोक्तं राज्ञः क च राजकीयम्, अल्लोपोऽनः इति लोपः प्राप्नोति इति

Has it not been said that the *sūtra* अल्लोपोऽनः will operate in the word राजकीयम् which is got by the operation of the *sūtra* राज्ञः क च ?

* The word कृपो is split as कृप and उः where कृप is the stem without the genetive case-suffix and उः is the genetive case of ऋ.

नैष दोषः । वक्ष्यत्येतत् । श्वादीनां प्रसारणे नकारान्तग्रहणमनकारान्तप्रति-षेधार्थम् इति, [illegible] VI 4 133 [illegible], अल्लोपोऽनः VI 4 134 नकारान्तस्येति

It is not [illegible]. He [illegible] to say this—that the [illegible] नकारान्त in the *sūtra* श्वयुवमघोनामतद्धिते (VI 4 133) [illegible] श्वन् etc. [illegible] नकारान्तस्य is repeated in the following [illegible] अल्लोपोऽनः

इह तर्हि [illegible], अनृन इति प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति

In the case of [illegible], the prohibition by अनृनः in the *sūtra* [illegible] VI. 2 [illegible] will operate.

[illegible]

By the [illegible] of those we [illegible]

[illegible] इति [illegible]

Then the [illegible] prohibiting those which have [illegible] shall read [illegible] instead of अनृनः in that *sūtra*.

[illegible] अत्र न प्राप्नोति

If [illegible] is read, the [illegible] which is the result of the [illegible] will not take place.

[illegible] इति वक्ष्यामि

Then shall I read [illegible]

स [illegible] मत [illegible], सैषा महती वंशस्तम्बात् लट्वानुकृष्यते ।

This लृकारोपदेश which is for the sake of [illegible] is rejected by taking recourse to the remodelling of the *sūtra* गुरोरनृतः ...; this is like taking hold of a small bird called लट्वा from bamboo-bush.

From the last sentence it is clear that the *Mahābhāṣyakāra* favours the view that the *upadeśa* of लृकार is necessary and that the flow of words is [illegible]. Some think that this is a sort of satirical utterance of *Mahābhāṣyakāra* against *Vārttikakāra*. From the preface it may be seen that it is not so, but it is only a fact stated in a humorous fashion.

एओङ्, ऐऔच्.

There are only three topics that are dealt with here: (1) whether the purpose is served by reading the *sūtras* as एओङ् and ऐऔच् or whether they have to be read as एत् ओत् ङ् and ऐत् औत् च्, (2) whether the word दीर्घ [illegible] which [illegible] एच् as [illegible] and (3) whether [illegible] form part of diphthongs, long vowels, [illegible] are similar to others are to be taken as they are or not.

I

इदं विचार्यते इमानि सन्ध्यक्षराणि तपराणि वा उपदिश्येरन् एत् ओत् ङ्, ऐत् औत् च् इति, अतपराणि वा यथान्यासम् इति

This is discussed whether these diphthongs have to be read with त् following each as एत् ओत् ङ्, ऐत् औत् च् or without त् as they are now.

कस्यात्र विशेषः ?

What is here the difference ?

सन्ध्यक्षरेषु तपरोपदेशश्चेत् तपरोच्चारणम्

Need for reading त् at the end of the [illegible] have to be followed by त्.

सन्ध्यक्षरेषु तपरोपदेशश्चेत् तपरोच्चारणं कर्तव्यम्

If the diphthongs have to be followed by त्, त् [illegible] read at the end.

प्लुत्यादिष्वज्विधिः

[illegible] relating to अच् will [illegible] apply to pl[illegible] [illegible] others.

प्लुत्यादिषु अजाश्रयो विधिर्न सिध्यति, ओ३श्रान [illegible] अलानि च इति अच [illegible] यो [illegible] द्विवचनं न प्राप्नोति, [illegible] [illegible] उदङ्ङ३पगम इति अचि इति ङमुडागमो न प्राप्नोति

In the case of pluta and others the rules [illegible] to अच् will not operate. For instance [illegible] त् [illegible] ओ३श्रान [illegible] नो३श्रान [illegible] applied [illegible] the rule अलानि च [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] of ङ [illegible] प्रत्यङ्ङ३निकायन [illegible] उदङ्ङ३पगम cannot take place since ङ should be followed by an अच्.

प्लुतसंज्ञा च

Even the symbol प्लुत.

प्लुतसंज्ञा [illegible] न सिध्यति, ऐ३निकायन, औ३पगव, ऊकालोऽज्झ्रस्वदीर्घप्लुत इति प्लुतसंज्ञा न प्राप्नोति

Even the symbol pluta cannot operate. For instance in ऐ३निकायन and औ३पगव, ऐ३ and औ३ cannot get [illegible] designation

* The reason is that अ३ and औ३ [illegible] in the pratyahara अच्.

[illegible] say *a* is enjoined only to an अच् in the sūtra ऊकालोऽज्झ्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतः

तस्तु तर्हि अतपराणि

Let them be not followed by त्

अतपर एष इग्घ्रस्वादेशे

If not followed by त्, there is no need for the एष इग्घ्रस्वादेशे.

[illegible] एष इग्घ्रस्वादेशे इति वक्तव्यम्

If [illegible] तपर, the [illegible] एष इग्घ्रस्वादेशे has to be read

किं प्रयोजनम्? Why?

[illegible] ओकारौ वा मा भूत् इति

So that [illegible] may not be used when the rules relating to the shortening of long vowels operate.

नन्वनु वक्ष्यति [illegible] इमाविश्वौ समाहारवर्णौ मात्रा [illegible] कदाचिदवर्णं स्यात् कदाचिदिवर्णोवर्णौ, मा कदाचित् अवर्णो भूत् इति

[illegible] has to be read even when one reads the diphthongs [illegible] the [illegible] letters which come under the [illegible] are diphthongs having one [illegible] for *a* and [illegible] for [illegible] *u*. Hence when rules relating to [illegible] operate, sometimes *a* may be substituted and [illegible]. They have to avoid the substitution of *a*.

प्रत्याख्यायेत एतत् एचोऽर्धानस्पृष्टत्वात् इति

This will be set aside by the [illegible] एचोऽर्धानस्पृष्टत्वात् *

यदि प्रत्याख्यानपक्ष, इदमपि प्रत्याख्यायेत सिद्धमेङः सस्थानत्वात् इति

If the view [illegible] by the [illegible] सिद्धमेङः सस्थानत्वात् †

ननु चेङ सस्थानतरावर्धे एकारोऽर्धे ओकारश्च

Is it not [illegible]

न तौ स्तः, यदि हि तौ स्यातां, तावेवायमुपदिशेत्

They two do not exist. If they were to exist, [illegible] read them alone.

ननु च [illegible] मान्यमुग्रिशाखायनाया [illegible]

सुजाते [illegible] अध्वनृते, अध्वर्यो ओ अद्रिभिः सुतम्, शुक्रं ते [illegible] अन्यत्, [illegible]

अन्यत् इति

[illegible] who belong to सात्यमुग्रिशाखा [illegible] राणायनीयशाखा [illegible] सुजाते ए अश्व सूनृते, अध्वर्यो ओ अद्रिभि सुतम्, शुक्रं ते ए अन्यत्, यजतं ते ए अन्यत्

* [illegible]

† [illegible] have the same organ of [illegible] shortened, [illegible] will take their place.

[illegible] । नैव हि लोके नान्यस्मिन् वेदेऽर्ध एकारो [illegible] [illegible]

It is the work of [illegible] of revered people. Neither in ordinary [illegible] we find [illegible] half [illegible].

From this it is evident that there are three defects if the [illegible] [illegible] are read with [illegible] at their [illegible] there [illegible] defect if they are read as [illegible] and [illegible] in [illegible] cases whether the [illegible] इग्घ्रस्वादेशे [illegible] or not.*

* [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] at [illegible]

[illegible] Paṇ[illegible]

[illegible]

Cf. [illegible] (ibid I [illegible])

[illegible] (तै. प्रा. II 22);

[illegible] (ibid. II 24)

[illegible] (ibid [illegible])

Kātyāyana seems to favour this view [illegible].

Cf. the vārttika एङ्-[illegible].

[illegible] gutturo-palatal [illegible]

gutturo-labial vowel respectively

Cf. [illegible]

[illegible]

and [illegible] or u element is also one mātrā

[illegible]

[illegible] (VIII [illegible]) [illegible] that

[illegible]

prātiśākhya, and Kātyāyana favour this view.

Cf. [illegible] (तै. प्रा. II [illegible])

इकारोऽध्यर्धः पूर्वस्य शेषः (ibid II. 28),

[illegible] (ibid II. 29)

[illegible] इग्घ्रस्वादेशे [illegible] I 48

II

एकादेशे दीर्घग्रहणम्

Mention of the word दीर्घ in एकादेश

एकादेशे दीर्घग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् . आद्गुणो दीर्घः, वृद्धिरेचि दीर्घ इति

In the *sūtras* enjoining the substitution of one letter for two, the word दीर्घ should be mentioned as आद्गुणो दीर्घः, वृद्धिरेचि दीर्घ

किं प्रयोजनम्? Why?

आन्तर्यतस्त्रिमात्रचतुर्मात्राणां स्थानिनां त्रिमात्रचतुर्मात्रा आदेशा मा भूवन्निति, खट्वा+इन्द्रः=खट्वेन्द्रः, खट्वा+उदकम्=खट्वोदकम्, खट्वा+ईषा=खट्वेषा, खट्वा+ऊढा=खट्वोढा, खट्वा+एलका=खट्वैलका, खट्वा+ओदनः=खट्वौदनः, खट्वा+ऐतिकायन=खट्वैतिकायनः, खट्वा+औपगवः=खट्वौपगवः इति

The sūtra एकारौकारयोः कण्ठ्या पूर्वा मात्रा तालव्योष्ठ्योत्तरा (Ṛk. Prā. I, 73) seems to mean that अ in ऐ and औ is one *mātrā* and इ or उ is one *mātrā*. But the commentator has commented upon it in different ways. Some consider that the *a* element is 1½ *mātrās* and *i* or *u* element is half a *mātrā*.

Cf. अध्यर्धमात्रा अवर्णस्य अर्धमात्रा इवर्णोवर्णयोः [M. B. under प्लुतावैच इदुतौ (VIII. 2—100.)]

Philologists favour this view since ऐ and औ are represented by the symbols *ai* and *au*. That this should have been the original pronunciation is seen by the fact that they change to *ay* and *av* in *sandhi*. The modern pronunciation with *a* being one *mātrā* and *i* or *u* also having one *mātrā* may have been due to the influence of Dravidian Languages.

Cf. *Akara ikara m-aikara m-ākum* (*Tolkāppiyam* I. 54.)

Akara ukara m-aukāra m-ākum (*ibid.* I. 55.)

Dr. A. A. Macdonell says that ऐ and औ were pronounced as *ai* and *au* even at the time of *Patañjali* (M. S. G. 15 a). But the *Prātiśākhyas* which have been published till now do not seem to express this definitely.

According to the second view favoured by *Kaiyaṭa* the sūtra एच इग्घ्रस्वादेशे is unnecessary.

Ādeśas of three and four *mātrās* may not, by the principle of similarity, replace *akṣaras* with three or four *mātrās* in the following – खट्वा + इन्द्र . . . खट्वौपगव

तर्हि दीर्घग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्

Then the word दीर्घ should be read.

न कर्तव्यम् । उपरिष्टाद् योगविभागः करिष्यते अकः सवर्णे, एको भवति, ततो दीर्घः, दीर्घश्च स भवति यः स एकः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने निर्दिष्ट इति

It need not be read: for the *sūtra* अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः which comes later on is split into two *sūtras* अकः सवर्णे and दीर्घः. The former means that when *ak* is followed by a *like* letter, it is replaced by one letter, and the other means that the letter which has replaced two letters is the long letter.

इहापि तर्हि प्राप्नोति, पशुम् विद्धम् पचन्ति इति

If so, the same will happen in the words पशुम्, विद्धम् and पचन्ति

नैष दोषः ; इह तावत्पशुमिति अम्येकः इत्येवं सिद्धम्, सोऽयमेवं सिद्धे सति यत्पूर्वग्रहणं करोति तस्यैतत्प्रयोजनं यथाजातीयकः पूर्वस्तथाजातीयक उभयो-र्यथा स्यात् इति ; विद्धमिति पूर्वे इत्येवानुवर्तते ; अथवा आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति नानेन संप्रसारणस्य दीर्घो भवतीति, यदयं हलः इति संप्रसारणस्य दीर्घत्वं शास्ति ; पचन्ति इति अतो गुणे पर इत्येवं सिद्धम्, सोऽयमेवं सिद्धे सति यत्पररूपग्रहणं करोति तस्यैतत्प्रयोजनं यथाजातीयकः परस्य रूपं तथाजातीयकमुभयोर्यथा स्यात् इति

No, here is no harm. First we shall take पशुम्; the result will be achieved by reading the *sūtra* अमि पूर्वः (6. 1—107) as अमि एकः. That being so, the *Sūtrakāra* has read the word पूर्वः, which suggests that the nature of both the letters will be of the same type as the former of the two. We shall then take विद्धम्. The word पूर्वे is taken here in the *sūtra* संप्रसारणाच्च

(6-1-108). Or the mention of the *sūtra* हलः (6-4-2) by the *Sūtrakāra* enjoining the lengthening of the *samprasāraṇa* after a consonant suggests that the lengthening does not operate upon the *samprasāraṇa* resulting from this *sūtra*. Then shall we take एचोऽनि? The defect is removed by taking in the *sūtra* अतो गुणे (6-1-97) the word पर alone. When such is the case, the word पररूपम् is taken here [from the *sūtra* एङि पररूपम् (6-1-94)] which suggests that the *ādeśa* of both the letters will be of the same type as the latter of the two.

इह तर्हि खट्वर्श्यों मालर्श्यं इति दीर्घत्वादाकारो न, अनान्तर्यादिकारौ-कारौ न

Here then in खट्वर्श्यं (खट्वा+ऋश्य), मालर्श्यं (माला+ऋश्य), *ā* cannot be the *ādeśa* since it has been said that a long letter should come there and *e* and *ō* cannot be the *ādeśa* since they are not similar.

तत्र को दोषः ?

What will be the harm there ?

विगृहीतस्य श्रवणं प्रसज्येत

There will be the possibility for the absence of *sandhi*.

न ब्रूमो यत्र क्रियमाणे दोषः तत्र कर्तव्यम् इति

We do not say that we shall take recourse to it where we meet with difficulty.

किं तर्हि ? What then ?

यत्र क्रियमाणे न दोषः तत्र कर्तव्यम् इति

We should take recourse to it where we meet with no difficulty by it.

क्व च क्रियमाणे न दोषः ?

Where do we not meet with difficulty by taking recourse to it ?

संज्ञाविधौ, वृद्धिरादैच् दीर्घे , अदेङ् गुणो दीर्घे, इति

In *samjñāvidhi* like वृद्धिरादैच् दीर्घे , अदेङ् गुणो दीर्घे

तर्हि दीर्घग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्

Then the word दीर्घ should be read.

न कर्तव्यम्

No, it need not.

कस्मादेव आन्तर्येण त्रिमात्रचतुर्मात्राणां स्थानिनां त्रिमात्रचतुर्मात्रा आदेशा न भवन्ति ?

How will not the *ādeśas* of three or four *mātras* replace the *sthānin* with three or four *mātrās* by adopting the principle of similarity ?

तपरे गुणवृद्धी

The *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* letters are associated with त्

ननु च तः परः यस्मात्सोऽयं तपरः ?

Is not तपर a *bahuvrīhi* compound ?

नेत्याह, तादपि परस्तपर इति

No, says he. It is also a *tatpuruṣa* compound.

यदि तादपि परस्तपर, ऋदोरप् इतीहैव स्यात् यवः, स्तवः ; लवः, पवः इत्यत्र न स्यात्

If it is taken as a *tatpuruṣa* compound, the *sūtra* अदेङ्गुणः will operate only with respect to यवः and स्तवः and not with respect to लवः and पवः

नैष तकारः

This is not *takāra*.

कस्तर्हि ?

What then ?

दकारः *Dakāra*.

किं दकारे प्रयोजनम् ?

What is the use of reading दकार ?

अथ किं तकारे ? यद्यसन्देहार्थस्तकारो दकारोऽपि, अथ मुखसुखार्थस्तकारो दकारोऽपि इति

What is the use of reading *takāra* ? If it is to avoid doubt *dakāra* also serves the same purpose ; if it is for euphony, *dakāra* also is for the same.

III

इदं विचार्यते य एतेषु वर्णेषु वर्णैकदेशा वर्णान्तरसमानाकृतयः एतेषामवयव ग्रहणेन ग्रहणं स्याद्वा न वा—इति

This is discussed whether in these letters (आ, ई, ऊ, ऋ, ॡ, ए, ऐ, ओ and औ) their parts which resemble other letters operate like the latter (in *sandhi* etc.) or not.

कुतः पुनरियं विचारणा ?

Wherefrom does this discussion arise ?

इह हि समुदाया अप्युपदिश्यन्ते अवयवा अपि अभ्यन्तरश्च समुदायेऽवयवः तद्यथा —वृक्षः प्रचलन् सहावयवैः प्रचलति; तत्र समुदायस्थस्यावयवस्य अवयवग्रहणेन ग्रहणं स्याद्वा न वेति जायते विचारणा

Here (in the *Māheśvara sūtras*) are read both wholes (like ए, ओ, ऋ, etc.) and parts like अ, इ, उ, etc. Part is evidently within the whole. A tree, when it moves, moves with its parts. Now the need for the discussion whether the parts of the whole operate or not like those which they resemble, arises.

कश्चात्र विशेषः ?

What is the difference here ?

वर्णैकदेशा वर्णग्रहणेन चेत् सन्ध्यक्षरे समानाश्रयो विधिः प्राप्नोति, स प्रतिषेध्यः अग्ने+इन्द्र, वायो+उदकम् अकः सवर्णे दीर्घ इति दीर्घत्वं प्राप्नोति

If the parts of letters operate like those which they resemble, the rules relating to *a, ā, i, ī, u, ū*, will operate with diphthongs. For example in the *sandhi* of अग्ने+इन्द्र and वायो+उदकम्, the *sūtra* अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः will operate.

दीर्घे ह्रस्वविधिप्रतिषेधः

Prohibition of rules relating to short letters with long ones.

दीर्घे ह्रस्वाश्रयो विधिः प्राप्नोति, स प्रतिषेध्यः आलूय, प्रलूय, ह्रस्वस्य पिति कृति तुक् भवतीति तुक् प्राप्नोति

Rules relating to short letters will have chance to operate with reference to the corresponding long ones and it is to be prohibited. For example in the words आलूय and प्रलूय the *sūtra* ह्रस्वस्य पिति कृति तुक् will chance to operate and तुक् will appear there.

नैष दोषः, आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति न दीर्घे ह्रस्वाश्रयो विधिर्भवतीति, यदयं दीर्घाच्छे तुकं शास्ति

It is no harm, for the *ācārya's* procedure suggests that the long letters are not to be affected by the rules relating to short ones since he reads the *sūtra* दीर्घात् which enjoins तुक् after a long letter.

नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम्, अस्ति ह्यन्यदेतस्य वचने प्रयोजनम्

This is not a *jñāpaka*, for there is another use of this *sūtra*.

किम्? What?

पदान्ताद्वा इति विभाषां वक्ष्यामि इति

To introduce the reader to his *sūtra* पदान्ताद्वा where he enjoins the optional use of तुक्.

यत्तर्हि योगविभागं करोति, इतरथा हि दीर्घात्पदान्ताद्वा इत्येव ब्रूयात्

Since he has read them as two *sūtras*, (we have to take the former to be a *jñāpaka*), for, otherwise he would have read दीर्घात्पदान्ताद्वा as one *sūtra*.

इह तर्हि खट्वाभिः, मालाभिः, अतो भिस ऐस् इत्यैस्भावः प्राप्नोति

If so, in the words खट्वाभिः and मालाभिः, the use of *ais* will come on the operation of the *sūtra* अतो भिस ऐस्.

तपरकरणसामर्थ्यान्न भविष्यति

It does not come on account of तपरकरण.

तर्हि याता वाता, अतो लोप आर्धधातुके इत्यकारलोपः प्राप्नोति

If so, in the words याता and वाता, the elision of अकार will take place on the operation of the *sūtra* अतो लोप आर्धधातुके.

ननु चात्रापि तपरकरणसामर्थ्यादेव न भविष्यति

Oh! even here it does not come on account of तपरकरण itself.

अस्ति ह्यन्यत्तपरकरणे प्रयोजनम्

No, for there is another benefit accruing from तपरकरण

किम्? What?

सर्वस्य लोपो मा भूदिति

So that the elision of the whole may not take place

अथ क्रियमाणेऽपि तपरे परस्य लोपे कृते पूर्वस्य कस्मान्न भवति

Even if there is तपरकरण, why is not the preceding letter dropped after the elision of the succeeding letter?

परलोपस्य स्थानिवद्भावादसिद्धत्वाच्च

On account of the स्थानिवद्भाव of the elision of the succeeding element and its being असिद्ध

एवं तर्हि आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति न आकारस्याकारस्य लोपो भवतीति, यदयम् आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः इति ककारमनुबन्धं करोति

Hence *ācārya*'s procedure suggests that *a* in *ā* is not elided since he reads the *anubandha* क् in the *sūtra* आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम्?

In what manner should it be understood so that it may be taken as a *jñāpaka*?

ककारकरणे एतत्प्रयोजनम् कितीत्याकारलोपो यथा स्यादिति । यद्याकारस्याकारस्य लोपः स्यात् ककरणमनर्थकं स्यात्—परस्य अकारस्य लोपे कृते द्वयोरकारयोः पररूपे हि सिद्धं रूपं स्यात् गोदः कम्बलद इति । पश्यति त्वाचार्यो नाकारस्याकारस्य लोपः स्यादिति ; अतः ककारमनुबन्धं करोति

This is the benefit of ककरण that the elision of *a* may take place on account of the mention of किति. If the *a* in *ā* can be elided, ककरण will be of no use when the succeeding *a* is elided, and when there is पररूप with respect to the two *a*'s the forms सामगः and कम्बलदः are formed. The *ācārya* sees that *a* in *ā* is not elided and hence uses the *anubandha* क्.

नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम्। उत्तरार्थमेतत् स्यात् तुन्दशोकयोः परिमृजापनुदोः इति।

This is not a *jñāpaka*. This is for the sake of the following *sūtra* तुन्दशोकयोः परिमृजापनुदोः।

यत्तर्हि गापोष्टक् इत्यनन्यार्थं ककारमनुबन्धं करोति।

If so, he reads the अकार with the *anubandha* क् in the *sūtra* गापोष्टक् which serves no other purpose.

एकवर्णवच्च

As one letter too.

एकवर्णवच्च दीर्घो भवतीति वक्तव्यम्।

It should also be said that long letter is taken as one letter.

किं प्रयोजनम्? Why?

वाचा तरतीति द्व्यज्लक्षणष्ठन्मा भूदिति। इह च वाचो निमित्तं तस्य निमित्तं संयोगोत्पातौ इत्यनुवर्तमाने गोद्व्यचः . इति द्व्यज्लक्षणो यन्मा भूदिति।

So that the suffix *ṭhan* which takes place after a dissyllable by the *sūtra* नौद्व्यचष्ठन् may not appear in the word वाचिक which means वाचा तरति and so that यत् which comes after a dissyllable by the *sūtra* गोद्व्यचः . in the sense of निमित्त of संयोग or उत्पात which is taken there from the *sūtra* तस्य निमित्तं संयोगोत्पातौ may not come after the word वाच् when the meaning वाचो निमित्तम् has to be conveyed.

अत्रापि गोनौग्रहणं ज्ञापकं, दीर्घाद् द्व्यच्लक्षणो विधिर्न भवतीति

Even here the mention of the two words गो and नौ suggests that the *sūtras* dealing with dissyllables do not operate in a long vowel.

अयं तु सर्वेषामेव परिहारः —

This will serve as an answer to meet all the points raised against.

नाव्यपवृक्तस्यावयवस्य तद्विधिर्यथा द्रव्येषु

Their rules do not operate in the case of those which resemble them and form part of other letters but are not taken cognisance of as separate from the whole, as in *dravyas*.

नाव्यपवृक्तस्यावयवस्य अवयवाश्रयो विधिर्भवति यथा द्रव्येषु तद्यथा—द्रव्येषु सप्तदश सामिधेन्यो भवन्तीति न सप्तदशारत्निमात्रं काष्ठमग्नावभ्याधीयते

The rules of those letters do not operate in the case of those which resemble them and form part of other letters, but are not taken cognisance of as such as in *dravyas*. For instance, in the case of *dravyas*, the purpose of the rule सप्तदश सामिधेन्यो भवन्ति is not satisfied when a wood seventeen cubits long is thrown on fire.

विषम उपन्यासः, प्रत्यृचं चैव हि तत्कर्म चोद्यते, असम्भवश्चाग्नौ वेद्यां च

The argument is not sound. The *karma* is enjoined with reference to every *ṛk* and it is impossible either for the fire or for the altar to hold it.

यथा तर्हि सप्तदश प्रादेशमात्रीराश्वत्थीः समिधोऽभ्यादधीत इति न सप्तदशप्रादेशमात्रं काष्ठमभ्याधीयते

If so, the purpose of the rule सप्तदश प्रादेशमात्रीराश्वत्थीः समिधोऽभ्यादधीत is not satisfied when a wood seventeen spans long is thrown into the fire.

अत्रापि प्रतिप्रणवं कर्म चोद्यते, तुल्यश्चासम्भवोऽग्नौ वेद्यां च

Even here the *karma* is enjoined with reference to the recital of *praṇava* each time and it is impossible for the fire or the altar to hold it.

यथा तर्हि तैलं न विक्रेतव्यं, मांसं न विक्रेतव्यम् इति व्यपवृक्तं च न विक्रीयते अव्यपवृक्तं गावः सर्षपाश्च विक्रीयन्ते, तथा लोमनखं स्पृष्ट्वा शौचं कर्तव्यमिति व्यपवृक्ते स्पृष्ट्वा नियोगतः कर्तव्यम्, अव्यपवृक्ते कामचारः

If so, as, when it is said that oil should not be sold and that meat should not be sold, they are not sold when they are separated from the whole, but the cows and mustard wherein they are not separated are sold, and as, when it is said that one should purify himself on touching hair and nail, it is *obligatory* to do it on touching them when they are separated from the body and it does not matter whether one touches them or not when they are not separated from the body, (so is here also).

यत्र तर्हि व्यपवर्गोऽस्ति ?

What will be the case where there is व्यपवर्ग ?

क्व च व्यपवर्गोऽस्ति ?

Where is व्यपवर्ग ?

सन्ध्यक्षरेषु

In diphthongs.

सन्ध्यक्षरेषु विवृतत्वात्

(Not in diphthongs, on account of openness.

यदत्र अवर्णं विवृततरं तदन्यस्मात् अवर्णात्, ये अपि इवर्णोवर्णे विवृततरे ते अन्याभ्यामिवर्णोवर्णाभ्याम्

No, there is no व्यपवर्ग in diphthongs on account of विवृतत्व. The *a* here is more open than *a* elsewhere and the *i* and *u* here are more open than *i* and *u* elsewhere.

अथवा पुनर्न गृह्यन्ते

Or वर्णैकदेशs are not considered to be those which they resemble.

अग्रहणं चेत् नुड्विधिलादेशविनामेषु ऋकारग्रहणम्

If it is not taken so, the reading of the letter *r* after the *sūtras* enjoining नुट्, लादेश and णत्व.

अग्रहणं चेत् नुड्विधिलादेशविनामेषु ऋकारस्य ग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । तस्मान्नुड् द्विहलः ऋकारे चेति वक्तव्यम् , इहापि यथा स्यात् आनृधतु आनृधु इति यस्य पुनर्गृह्यन्ते द्विहल इत्येव तस्य सिद्धम्

If वर्णैकदेशs are not considered to be those which they resemble, the letter *r* should be read after the *sūtras* enjoining नुट्, लादेश and णत्व. After the *sūtra* तस्मान्नुड् द्विहल, ऋकारे च should be read, so that the forms आनृधतु and आनृधु may be got. By him who holds the वर्णैकदेशग्रहणपक्ष, it is achieved by the word द्विहलः itself.

यस्यापि न गृह्यन्ते, तस्याप्येष न दोषः । द्विहल्ग्रहणं न करिष्यते, तस्मान्नुड् भवतीत्येव

It is no harm even to him who holds the अग्रहणपक्ष. The word द्विहलः is not read and the *sūtra* becomes तस्मान्नुट्.

यदि न क्रियते आटतु आटुः इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति

If it is not read, नुट् will appear in आटतुः and आटुः

अश्नोतिग्रहणं नियमार्थं भविष्यति, अश्नोतेरेव अवर्णोपधस्य नान्यस्य अवर्णोपधस्येति

The mention of अश्नोति (in the *sūtra* अश्नोतेश्च 7·4–72) is to restrict its application that नुट् occurs only to अश् which has अ as its penultimate and not to similar roots which have अ as their penultimate.

लादेशे च ऋकारग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्, कृपो रो लः, ऋकारस्य च इति वक्तव्यम् इहापि यथा स्यात् क्लृप्तः क्लृप्तवान् इति। यस्य पुनर्गृह्यन्ते र इत्येव तस्य सिद्धम्

Ṛ should be read after *sūtras* dealing with लादेश thus—कृपो रो लः, ऋकारस्य च so that लादेश may take place here also—in क्लृप्तः and क्लृप्तवान्. By him who holds the ग्रहणपक्ष, it is achieved by the word रः itself.

यस्यापि न गृह्यन्ते तस्याप्येष न दोषः। ऋकारोऽप्यत्र निर्दिश्यते

It is no harm even to him who holds अग्रहणपक्ष. The word ऋकार also is read here.

कथम्? How?

अविभक्तिको निर्देशः, कृप उ र् लः कृपो रो ल इति

Mention without case suffix thus कृप उः रः लः

अथवा उभयतः स्फोटमात्रं निर्दिश्यते रश्रुतेर्लश्रुतिर्भवति इति

Or the genus is denoted in both—*r* becomes *l* *

विनामे ऋकारग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्, रषाभ्यां नो णः समानपदे ऋकाराच्च इति वक्तव्यम्—इहापि यथा स्यात् मातॄणाम् पितॄणाम् इति। यस्य पुनर्गृह्यन्ते रषाभ्याम् इत्येव तस्य सिद्धम्

* र् in ऋ of कृप् becomes ल् found in ऌ so that क्लृप्त is formed from कृप् and र् becomes ल् so that कल्पते is formed from कृप्

ऋ should be read after the *sūtra* dealing with णत्व thus—रषाभ्यां नो णः समानपदे, ऋकाराच्च so that णत्व may occur even here—in मातॄणाम्, पितॄणाम्. To him who holds the ग्रहणपक्ष, the object is achieved by the word रषाभ्याम्.

न सिध्यति, यत्तदृकारात् परं भक्तेः, तेन व्यवहितत्वान्न प्राप्नोति

No, it is not achieved since न (in मातॄणां and पितॄणाम्) is separated from र् the former part of ऋ by its latter part.

मा भूदेवम्, अड्व्यवाय इत्येव सिद्धम्

Let it not be so; it is achieved by the *sūtra* अट्कुप्वाङ्नुम्व्यवायेऽपि.

न सिध्यति No, it is not.

वर्णैकदेशाः के वर्णग्रहणेन गृह्यन्ते ?

Which वर्णैकदेशs are taken like वर्णs ?

ये व्यपवृक्ता अपि वर्णा भवन्ति

Those which exist as वर्णs even outside them.

यच्चात्र रेफात्परं भक्तेः, न तत्क्वचिदपि व्यपवृक्तं दृश्यते

That element which is after र् in ऋ is not found anywhere as a separate letter.

एवं तर्हि योगविभागः करिष्यते रषाभ्यां नो णः समानपदे ततो व्यवाये व्यवाये च रषाभ्यां नो णो भवतीति. ततः अट्कुप्वाङ्नुम्भिः इति

If the *sūtra* is split thus—रषाभ्यां नो णः समानपदे and then व्यवाये (even when separated by others *n* becomes *ṇ* after र and ष in a single word)—and then अट्कुप्वाङ्नुम्भिः

इदमिदानीं किमर्थम्?

What is this for now?

नियमार्थम्, एतैरेवाक्षरसमाम्नायिकैर्व्यवाये नान्यैरिति

For the sake of *niyama*, so that (it may take place) only when they are separated by only these letters of वर्णसमाम्नाय and none else.

यस्यापि न गृह्यन्ते तस्याप्येष न दोषः। आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति भवति ऋकारान्तो णत्वमिति, यदयं क्षुभ्नादिषु नृनमनशब्दं पठति

It is no harm even to him who holds the अग्रहणपक्ष. The usage of *ācārya* suggests that *n* becomes *ṇ* after ऋ since he reads the word नृनमन in क्षुभ्नादिगण.

नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम्, वृद्ध्यर्थमेतत्स्यात् नार्नमनिः —

No, this is not a *jñāpaka*. It is there for the sake of *vṛddhi* in नार्नमनिः:

यत्तर्हि तृप्नोतिशब्दं पठति

If so, he reads तृप्नोति *.

यच्चापि नृनमनशब्दं पठति

Or as he reads नृनमन.

ननु चोक्तं वृद्ध्यर्थमेतत्स्यात्!

Has it not been said that it is for the sake of *vṛddhi*?

बहिरङ्गा वृद्धिः, अन्तरङ्गं णत्वम्, असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे

* तृप्नोति is found only in पदमञ्जर.

Vṛddhi is बहिरङ्ग and *ṇatva* is अन्तरङ्ग and बहिरङ्ग is *asiddha* when अन्तरङ्गकार्य is to be done.

अथवा उपरिष्टाद्योगविभागः करिष्यते—ऋतः—नो णो भवति, ततः—छन्दस्यवग्रहात् ऋत इत्येव

Or the *sūtra* छन्दस्यृदवग्रहात् which comes later on is split into ऋतः and छन्दस्यवग्रहात्; the former is taken to mean ऋतो नो णो भवति and the word ऋतः is taken to follow in the succeeding *sūtra* also.

प्लुतावैच इदुतौ

The *sūtra* प्लुतावैच इदुतौ (is necessary).

एतच्च वक्तव्यम्, यस्य पुनर्गृह्यन्ते गुरोरनृतः इत्येव प्लुत्या तस्य सिद्धम्

The *sūtra* प्लुतावैच इदुतौ has also to be read. For him who holds ग्रहणपक्ष, its purpose is served by गुरोरनृतः.

यस्यापि न गृह्यन्ते तस्याप्येष न दोषः, क्रियते न्यास एव *

It is no harm even to him who holds अग्रहणपक्ष since the *sūtra* itself is read (by the *Sūtrakāra*).

तुल्यरूपे संयोगे द्विव्यञ्जनविधिः

Rules relating to two consonants in the case of one consonant followed by the same.

तुल्यरूपे संयोगे द्विव्यञ्जनाश्रयो विधिर्न सिध्यति—कुक्कुटः, पिप्पली, पित्तम् इति। यस्य पुनर्गृह्यन्ते तस्य द्वौ ककारौ, द्वौ पकारौ, द्वौ तकारौ

Rules relating to two consonants in the case of one consonant followed by the same will not take place, as in कुक्कुटः,

* क्रियते एतन्न्यास एव is another reading

पिप्पली and पिप्लम्. For him who holds the ग्रहणपक्ष there are two ककारs, two पकारs and two लकारs.

यस्यापि न गृह्यन्ते तस्यापि द्वौ ककारौ द्वौ पकारौ द्वौ लकारौ

Even for him who holds अग्रहणपक्ष, there are two ककारs, two पकारs and two लकारs.

कथम्? How?

मात्राकालोऽत्र गम्यते, न च मात्रिकं व्यञ्जनमस्ति। अनुपदिष्टं सत्कथं शक्यं विज्ञातुम्, असच्च कथं शक्यं प्रतिपत्तुम्?

The time taken by *matras* is here taken into account. There is no consonant which has one *matra*. How is it possible for one to take cognisance of a thing which has not been read and to know a thing which does not exist?

यद्यपि तावदत्रैतच्छक्यते वक्तुं यत्रैतन्नास्ति अण् सवर्णान् गृह्णाति इति, इह तु कथं सय्यँन्ता, सव्वँत्सरः, यल्ँलोकम्, तल्ँलोकम्, इति यत्रैतत् अस्त्यण् सवर्णान् गृह्णाति इति?

Even though it is possible to say so where the principle अण् सवर्णान् गृह्णाति does not operate, how can it be here in सय्यँन्ता, सव्वँत्सरः, यल्ँलोकम्, तल्ँलोकम् where the same principle operates?

अत्रापि मात्राकालो गृह्यते, न च मात्रिकं व्यञ्जनमस्ति। अनुपदिष्टं सत्कथं शक्यं विज्ञातुम्, असच्च कथं शक्यं प्रतिपत्तुम्?

Even here the time taken by *matras* is taken into account. There is no consonant which has one *matra*. How is it possible for one to take cognisance of a thing which has not been read and to know a thing which does not exist?

हयवरट्

Six topics are dealt with here. They are (1) the need for reading ह in two *sūtras* (2) which is better—हयवरट् or हरयवट्? (3) since अयोगवाहs are not read in प्रत्याहारसूत्रs, where are they to be taken to have been read? (4) do letters have meaning or not? (5) why are not *anubandhas* in प्रत्याहार taken as अच्? and (6) why should semi-vowels be mentioned in the *sūtra* अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः.

I

सर्वे वर्णाः सकृदुपदिष्टाः, अयं हकारो द्विरुपदिश्यते पूर्वश्चैव परश्च। यदि पुनः पूर्व एवोपदिश्येत पर एव वा. कश्चात्र विशेषः?

All letters are read once; this हकार is read twice before * and after. † If it is read either before or after, what would have been the difference?

हकारस्य परोपदेशे अड्ग्रहणेषु हग्रहणम्

Hakāra being read after, mention of *hakāra* in *sūtras* mentioning अट्.

हकारस्य परोपदेशे अड्ग्रहणेषु हग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्, आतोऽटि नित्यम्, शश्छोऽटि, दीर्घादटि समानपादे हकारे च इति वक्तव्यम्, इहापि यथा स्यात् महाँ हि सः

If *hakāra* is read after, mention has to be made of *hakāra* wherever the *pratyāhāra* अट् is mentioned. For instance in the *sūtras* आतोऽटि नित्यम्, शश्छोऽटि, दीर्घादटि समानपादे, हकारे च must be read so that the rule may operate here also—in महाँ हि सः

* In the *sūtra* हयवरट्   † In the *sūtra* हल्

उत्वे च

Also in *sūtras* dealing with उत्व.

उत्वे च हकारग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्, अतो रोरप्लुतादप्लुते, हशि च, हकारे च इति वक्तव्यम्, इहापि यथा स्यात् पुरुषो हसति, ब्राह्मणो हसति

Hakāra has to be read also in *sūtras* dealing with उत्व. For instance in the *sūtra* हशि च after अतो रोरप्लुतादप्लुते, हकारे च must be read so that the rule may operate here also in पुरुषो हसति, ब्राह्मणो हसति.

अस्तु तर्हि पूर्वोपदेशः

If so, let it be read before.

पूर्वोपदेशे कित्वक्सेड्विधयो झल्ग्रहणानि च

It being read before, injunction of कित्त्व, क्स and इट् and झल्ग्रहण.

यदि पूर्वोपदेशः, कित्त्वं विधेयम् स्निहित्वा स्नेहित्वा सिस्निहिषति सिस्नेहिषति रलो व्युपधाद्धलादेः इति कित्त्वं न प्राप्नोति। क्सविधिः, क्सश्च विधेयः—अधुक्षत् अलिक्षत् शल इगुपधादनिटः क्सः इति क्सो न प्राप्नोति। इड्विधिः, इट् च विधेयः—रुदिहि स्वपिहि वलादिलक्षण इण् न प्राप्नोति। झल्ग्रहणानि च। किम्? अहकाराणि स्युः। तत्र को दोषः? झलो झलि इति इह न स्यात्, अदाग्धाम्, अदाग्धम्

If it is read before, कित्त्व has to be enjoined in cases like स्निहित्वा स्नेहित्वा, सिस्निहिषति सिस्नेहिषति since they cannot be operated upon by the *sūtra* रलो व्युपधाद्धलादेः, (for ह् cannot be included under the *pratyahāra* रल्.) क्स has to be enjoined in cases like अधुक्षत्, अलिक्षत् since they cannot be operated upon by शल इगुपधादनिटः क्सः (for ह cannot be included under the *pratyāhāra* शल्) इट् has to be enjoined in cases like रुदिहि, स्वपिहि since they cannot be operated upon by रुदादिभ्यः सार्वधातुके (for ह् cannot be

included under the *pratyāhāra* झल् (in the *sūtra* dealing with झल्) also. Why? They will not include ह. What is the harm there? The *sūtra* झलो झलि cannot operate in अदाग्धाम्, अदाग्धम्.

तस्मात् पूर्वत्र उपदेशः परत्र च । यदि च किंचिद् अन्यत्राप्युपदेशे प्रयोजनमस्ति तत्राप्युपदेशः कर्तव्यः

Therefore it has to be read before and after. If there be any use of its being read elsewhere, there too should it be read.

11

इदं विचार्यते अयं रेफो यकारवकाराभ्यां पूर्व उपदिश्येत हयवरट् इति, पर एव वा यथान्यासम् इति

This is to be discussed whether रेफ is to be read before य and व as हयवरट or after them as it is in the *sūtra*.

कश्चात्र विशेषः ?

What is the difference here?

रेफस्य परोपदेशे अनुनासिकद्विर्वचनपरसवर्णप्रतिषेधः

रेफ being read after, prohibition of अनुनासिक, द्विर्वचन and परसवर्ण.

रेफस्य परोपदेशे अनुनासिकद्विर्वचनपरसवर्णानां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । अनुनासिकस्य—स्वर्नयति प्रातर्नयति, यरोऽनुनासिकेऽनुनासिको वा इत्यनुनासिकः प्राप्नोति । द्विर्वचनस्य—भद्रह्रदः, भद्रह्रदे, यरः इति द्विर्वचनं प्राप्नोति । परसवर्णस्य—कुण्डं रथेन, वनं रथेन, अनुस्वारस्य ययि परसवर्णः इति परसवर्णः प्राप्नोति

If रेफ is read after य and व (as it is in the *sūtra*), nasalisation, doubling and likening to the following letter should be prohibited. As regards nasalisation, in cases like स्वर्नयति, प्रातर्नयति the *sūtra* यरोऽनुनासिकेऽनुनासिको वा will operate. As regards doubling, in cases like भद्रह्रदः भद्रह्रदे doubling

will take place by the *sūtra* अनचि च (since रेफ is included under the *pratyāhāra* यर्.) As regards the likening to the following letter, in cases like कुण्डं रथेन, वनं रथेन, the *sūtra* अनुस्वारस्य ययि परसवर्णः will operate so that परसवर्ण will take place.

अस्तु तर्हि पूर्वोपदेशः

If so, let it be read before them

पूर्वोपदेशे कित्त्वप्रतिषेधो य्वलोपवचनं च

It being read before, prohibition of कित्त्व and mention of य्वलोप.

यदि पूर्वोपदेशः कित्त्वं प्रतिषेध्यम् । देवित्वा, दिदेविषति । रलो व्युपधात् . . . इति कित्त्वं प्राप्नोति

If it is read before, कित्त्व has to be prohibited, otherwise क्त्वा and सन् will become optionally कित् in देवित्वा and दिदेविषति by the *sūtra* रलो व्युपधात् . . . (since व् will be included in the *pratyāhāra* रल्).

नैष दोषः, नैवं विज्ञायते रलो व्युपधात् इति

There will be no room for this flaw since it is not understood thus—रलः व्युपधात् . . .

किं तर्हि ? How then ?

रलः अव्व्युपधात् इति

Thus—रलः अव्व्युपधात्.

किमिदं अव्व्युपधात् इति ?

What does अव्व्युपधात् mean here ?

अनकारान्तात् व्युपधात् अव्युपधात् इति

After व्युपध which does not end in अ

व्योर्लोपवचनं च । व्योश्च लोपो वक्तव्यः । गौधेरः, पचेरन्, यजेरन्, जीवेरदानुः — जीरदानुः, वलीति लोपो न प्राप्नोति इति

Mention of the elision of य् and व्. The elision of य् and व् should be mentioned in the following cases गौधेरः, पचेरन्, यजेरन्, जीरदानुः (the suffix रदानुः after जीव by जीवरदानु) since र् is not included in the *pratyahara* वल्.

नैष दोषः रेफोऽप्यत्र निर्दिश्यते, लोपो व्योर्वलीति रेफे च वलि च इति

There is no room for this flaw. रेफ also is mentioned here thus लोपो व्योर्वलि. रेफे च वलि च. *

अथवा पुनरस्तु परोपदेशः

Or let there be परोपदेश itself.

ननु चोक्तं रेफस्य परोपदेशे अनुनासिकद्विर्वचनपरसवर्णप्रतिषेध इति :

Has it not been said that, if there is परोपदेश prohibition of nasalisation, doubling and likening to the following letter should be made ?

अनुनासिकपरसवर्णयोस्तावत् प्रतिषेधो न वक्तव्यः, रेफोष्मणां सवर्णा न सन्ति । द्विर्वचनेऽपि, नेमौ रहौ कार्यिणौ द्विर्वचनस्य । किं तर्हि ? निमित्तमिमौ रहौ द्विर्वचनस्य ; तद्यथा — ब्राह्मणा भोज्यन्तां माठरकौण्डिन्यौ परिवेविषाताम् इति, नेदानीं तौ भुञ्जाते

First there is no need for the prohibition of अनुनासिक and परसवर्ण since रेफ and fricatives have no like letters Even

* The defect in this case is that र् has to be read which is not in the *sūtra*

in द्विर्वचन, रेफ and हकार are not the recipients of द्विर्वचन. What then? They are निमित्तs of द्विर्वचन. It is analogous to this—when it is said that brahmans may be fed and माठर and कौण्डिन्य may serve, they two do not dine then.

III

इदं विचार्यते इमे अयोगवाहा * न कचिदुपदिश्यन्ते श्रूयन्ते च, तेषां कार्यार्थ उपदेश कर्तव्यः

This is discussed that these अयोगवाहs are read nowhere but heard (in words) and they have to be read to be operated upon by the *sūtras*.

के पुनरयोगवाहाः?

What are अयोगवाहs?

विसर्जनीयजिह्वामूलीयोपध्मानीयानुस्वारयमा

They are *visarga*, *jihvāmūlīya*, *upadhmānīya*, *anusvāra* and *yama*.

कथं पुनरयोगवाहाः?

How are they called अयोगवाहs?

यदयुक्ता वहन्ति, अनुपदिष्टाश्च श्रूयन्ते

Since they being heard without being read are operated upon without being included in any *pratyāhāra*.

* It is interesting to note that Kannada grammarians began to use the term *yogavāha* in place of *ayogavāha*; this is perhaps due to false etymology that these letters are found only in the company of others or metanalysis.

Cf. [illegible] *pathaman* [illegible] *ardhavisarganga* [illegible] *yogavāhangalenuva* [illegible] (Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa 1,2 commentary)

क्व पुनरेषामुपदेशः कर्तव्यः ?

Where are these to be read ?

अयोगवाहानामट्सु णत्वम्

Reading of अयोगवाहs among अट् for the sake of णत्व.

अयोगवाहानामट्सु उपदेशः कर्तव्यः । किं प्रयोजनम् ? णत्वम् । उरः केण, उरः केण, उरःपेण उरःपेण, अड्व्यवाये इति णत्वं सिद्धं भवति

Reading of अयोगवाहs among the letters included in the *pratyāhāra* अट् is necessary. What is the use? णत्व, as in उरःकेण, उर ⨯ केण, उरःपेण and उर ⨯ पेण । णत्व can be accomplished since there is अड्व्यवाय.

शर्षु जश्भावषत्वे

Their reading among शर् for the sake of जश्त्व and षत्व.

शर्षूपदेशः कर्तव्यः । किं प्रयोजनम् ? जश्भावषत्वे । अयमुब्जिरुपध्मानीयोपधः पठ्यते, तस्य जश्त्वे कृते उब्जिता उब्जितुम् इत्येतद्रूपं यथा स्यात्

They have to be read among शर् . What is the use? For the sake of जश्त्व and षत्व. This root उब्ज् is read with *upadhmanīya* for its penultimate. If it takes जश्त्व, the forms उब्जिता and उब्जितुम् may be got.

यद्युब्जिरुपध्मानीयोपधः पठ्यते उब्जिजिषति इति उपध्मानीयादेरेव द्विर्वचनं प्राप्नोति, दकारोपधे पुनः न न्द्राः संयोगादयः इति प्रतिषेधः सिद्धो भवति

If the root उब्ज् is read with *upadhmānīya* for its penultimate, the doubling of that commencing with *upadhmānīya* (*i. e.*) ब्जि in उब्जिजिषति takes place. If, on the other hand, the penultimate is दकार, prohibition of its doubling takes place by the *sūtra* न न्द्राः संयोगादयः.

यदि दकारोपधः पठ्यते कथं रूपसिद्धिः, उब्जिता, उब्जितुम् इति ?

If it is read with दकार for its penultimate, how are the forms उब्जिता and उब्जितुम् to be got ?

असिद्धे भ उद्जेः इदमस्ति स्तोः श्चुना श्चुः इति, ततो वक्ष्यामि भ उद्जेः, उद्जेः श्चुना सन्निपाते भो भवतीति

In the *asiddhaprakaraṇa* the reading of भ उद्जेः. Here is the *sūtra* स्तोः श्चुना श्चुः ; then shall I read भ उद्जेः so that द् of उद्ज् will become भ when it is followed by श् and चवर्ग.

तर्हि वक्तव्यम्

Then it is to be read.

न वक्तव्यम्, निपातनादेव सिद्धम्

No, it need not be read since it is accomplished by *nipātana*.

किं निपातनम् ?

Which *nipātana* ?

भुजन्युब्जौ पाण्युपतापयोः इति

The *nipātana* is भुजन्युब्जौ पाण्युपतापयोः

इहापि तर्हि प्राप्नोति, अभ्युद्गः समुद्गः इति

Even here in अभ्युद्गः and समुद्गः will it come

अकुत्वविषये निपातनम्, अथवा नैतदुब्जे रूपं, गमेरेतत् ड्युपसर्गाद्वा विधीयमाने, अभ्युद्गतः अभ्युद्गः, समुद्गतः समुद्ग इति

The *nipātana* is where there is no कुत्व. Or this is not derived from the root उब्ज्, but from गम् where डः takes place when

the root गम् is preceded by two prepositions. अभ्युद्गत becomes अभ्युद्गः, and समुद्गतः becomes समुद्गः.

षत्वं च प्रयोजनम् — सर्पिःषु, धनुःषु — शर्व्यवाय इति षत्वं सिद्धं भवति, नुम्विसर्जनीयशर्व्यवायेऽपि इति विसर्जनीयग्रहणं न कर्तव्यं भवति

षत्व is the benefit as in सर्पिःषु and धनुःषु. It is achieved since there is शर्व्यवाय. So the word विसर्जनीय in नुम्विसर्जनीयशर्व्यवाये is unnecessary.

नुमश्चापि तर्हि ग्रहणं शक्यमकर्तुम्

In that case even the word नुम् is unnecessary.

कथं सर्पींषि, धनूंषि ?

How are the forms सर्पींषि and धनूंषि to be got ?

अनुस्वारे कृते शर्व्यवाय इत्येव सिद्धम्

After the *anusvara* is brought in, षत्व is accomplished by शर्व्यवाय.

अवश्यं नुमो ग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्, अनुस्वारविशेषणं नुम्ग्रहणम्, नुमो योऽनुस्वारः तत्र यथा स्यात्, इह मा भूत् पुंसु इति

Reading of नुम is necessary. It is taken as the विशेषण of *anusvara* so that षत्व may take place where *anusvara* has replaced नुम and may not take place in पुंसु

अथवा अविशेषेणोपदेशः कर्तव्यः

Or they have to be read wherever necessary.

किं प्रयोजनम् ?

What is the use ?

अविशेषेण संयोगोपधासंज्ञालोऽन्त्यद्विवचनस्थानिवद्भावप्रतिषेधाः

Reading wherever necessary for the sake of the **संज्ञाs, संयोग** and **उपधा**, for the operation of **अलोऽन्त्यविधि** and **द्विवचनविधि** and for the prohibition of **स्थानिवद्भाव**.

अविशेषेण संयोगसंज्ञा प्रयोजनम् — उ३ऽऽक- **हलोऽनन्तराः संयोगः** इति संयोगसंज्ञा **संयोगे गुरु** इति गुरुसंज्ञा, **गुरोः** . . इति प्लुतो भवति । उपधासंज्ञा च प्रयोजनम् — दुष्कृतम्, निष्कृतम्, दुष्पीतम्, निष्पीतम्, **इदुदुपधस्य चाप्रत्ययस्य** इति षत्वं सिद्धं भवति

By reading it wherever necessary, **संयोगसंज्ञा** is one *prayojana*. In उ३ऽऽक, the letter उ is *pluta*. **संयोगसंज्ञा** and **गुरुसंज्ञा** are got by the operation of the *sūtras* **हलोऽनन्तराः संयोगः** and **संयोगे गुरु** and it becomes *pluta* after being operated upon by the *sūtra* **गुरो**. . उपधासंज्ञा also is another *prayojana*. The षत्व is achieved in **दुष्कृतम्**, **निष्कृतम्**, **दुष्पीतम्** and **निष्पीतम्** by the operation of the *sūtra* **इदुदुपधस्य चाप्रत्ययस्य**

नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् ; न इदुदुपधग्रहणेन विसर्जनीयो विशेष्यते

This is not a *prayojana*, for the penultimate **इ** and **उ** do not qualify the *visarga*.

किं तर्हि ? What then ?

सकारो विशेष्यते, इदुदुपधस्य सकारस्य यो विसर्जनीय इति

सकार is qualified thus: the *visarga* which has replaced **सकार** in the word having for the penultimate **इण्** and **उण्**.

अथवा उपधाग्रहणं न करिष्यते । इदुद्भ्यां तु परं विसर्जनीयं विशेषयिष्यामः इदुद्भ्यामुत्तरस्य विसर्जनीयस्य इति

Or उपधा is not read there. We shall qualify the *visarga* as followed by इण् and उण् thus—इदुद्भ्यामुत्तरस्य विसर्जनीयस्य

अलोऽन्त्यविधिश्च प्रयोजनम्—वृक्षस्तरति, प्लक्षस्तरति,—अलोऽन्त्यस्य विधयो भवन्तीति अलोऽन्त्यस्य सत्वं सिद्धं भवति

The operation of अलोऽन्त्यविधि also is a *prayojana*. In the examples वृक्षस्तरति and प्लक्षस्तरति, सकार takes the place of *visarga* by taking recourse to the rule अलोऽन्त्यस्य विधयो भवन्ति.

एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम्। निर्दिश्यमानस्य आदेशा भवन्ति इति विसर्जनीयस्यैव भविष्यति

This too is not a *prayojana*. Since *ādeśas* replace only what is mentioned; सकार replaces only the *visarga*.

द्विर्वचनं प्रयोजनम्—उरःक्कः, उरःप्पः अनचि च अचः उत्तरस्य यरो द्वे भवत इति द्विर्वचनं सिद्धं भवति

Doubling is another benefit. In the examples उरःक्कः and उरःप्पः doubling is achieved by the operation of the *sūtra* अनचि च which means that यर् following a vowel is doubled.

स्थानिवद्भावप्रतिषेधश्च प्रयोजनम्, यथेह भवति उरःकेण, उरःपेण, इति अट्व्यवाय इति णत्वम् एवमिहापि स्थानिवद्भावात्प्राप्नोति, व्यूढोरस्केन महोरस्केन इति; तत्र अनल्विधौ इति प्रतिषेधः सिद्धो भवति

स्थानिवद्भावप्रतिषेध also is a *prayojana*; just as णत्व may come by अट्व्यवाय in उरःकेण and उरःपेण, so also the णत्व may come by स्थानिवद्भाव in व्यूढोरस्केन and महोरस्केन and it is prevented by अनल्विधौ.

IV

किं पुनरिमे वर्णा अर्थवन्तः, आहोस्विद् अनर्थकाः?

Do these letters have meaning or no?

अर्थवन्तो वर्णाः धातुप्रातिपदिकप्रत्ययनिपातानाम् एकवर्णानामर्थदर्शनात्

Letters have meaning, since there is meaning in one lettered roots, stems, affixes and *nipātas*.

अर्थवन्तो वर्णाः । कुतः । धातुप्रातिपदिकप्रत्ययनिपातानामेकवर्णानामर्थदर्शनात् । धातव एकवर्णा अर्थवन्तो दृश्यन्ते एति,* अध्येति,† अधीते ‡ इति । प्रातिपदिकान्येकवर्णान्यर्थवन्ति आभ्याम्, एभिः, एषु । प्रत्यया एकवर्णा अर्थवन्तः—औपगवः, कापटवः । निपाता एकवर्णा अर्थवन्तः—अ अपेहि, इ इन्द्रं पश्य, उ उत्तिष्ठ, अ अपक्राम । धातुप्रातिपदिकप्रत्ययनिपातानामेकवर्णानामर्थदर्शनान्मन्यामहे अर्थवन्तो वर्णा इति

Letters have meaning. Why? Since meaning is found in one-lettered roots, stems, affixes and *nipātas*. One-lettered roots having meaning are found *viz.* एति, अध्येति, अधीते. One lettered stems having meaning are found *viz.* आभ्याम्, एभिः, एषु । One-lettered affixes having meaning are found *viz* औपगव, कापटव. One lettered *nipātas* having meaning are found, *viz.* अ अपेहि, इ इन्द्रं पश्य, उ उत्तिष्ठ, अ अपक्राम. We think that letters have meaning since one-lettered roots, stems, affixes and *nipātas* are found to have meaning.

वर्णव्यत्यये चार्थान्तरगमनात्

On account of change in meaning by the change in letters.

वर्णव्यत्यये च अर्थान्तरगमनान्मन्यामहे अर्थवन्तो वर्णा इति—कूप सूपो यूप इति—कूप इति सककारेण कश्चिदर्थो गम्यते, सूप इति ककारापाये सकारोपजने चार्थान्तरं गम्यते, यूप इति ककारसकारापाये यकारोपजनेऽर्थान्तरं गम्यते । तेन मन्यामहे य कूपे कूपार्थः स ककारस्य § य सूपे सूपार्थः स सकारस्य, यो यूपे यूपार्थः स यकारस्य इति

* Root इण्. † Root इक्. ‡ Root इङ्.

§ अन्येषां मन्याः सकारस्येति ; त एवमाहुः सह ककारेण अर्थवत्ता इति (*Pradīpikā*)

We think that letters have meaning since meaning changes in words if one letter is replaced by another. e.g. कूपः, सूपः, यूपः. The word कूपः is seen to have one meaning when it is with ककार, another meaning is seen in the word सूपः where क् is removed and स् is placed in its stead, and another meaning is seen in the word यूपः where both क् and स् are removed and य् is placed instead. Therefore we think that the meaning of the word कूप is in its ककार, that of सूप is in its सकार and that of यूप is in its यकार.

वर्णानुपलब्धौ चानर्थगतेः

On account of the absence of that meaning in the absence of one letter.

वर्णानुपलब्धौ चानर्थगतेर्मन्यामहे अर्थवन्तो वर्णा इति। वृक्षः, ऋक्षः, काण्डीरः, आण्डीरः—वृक्ष इति सवकारेण कश्चिदर्थो गम्यते, ऋक्ष इति वकारापाये सोऽर्थो न गम्यते। काण्डीर इति सककारेण कश्चिदर्थो गम्यते, आण्डीर इति ककारापाये सोऽर्थो न गम्यते।

We think that letters have meaning since, in the absence of one letter, that meaning is not found. e.g. वृक्ष, ऋक्ष, काण्डीर, आण्डीर. The word वृक्ष is found to have a meaning when it is with the letter व and when that letter is removed, the same meaning is not found in the word ऋक्ष. The word काण्डीर is found to have a meaning when it is with the letter क and when that letter is removed, the same meaning is not found in the word आण्डीर.

किं तर्हि उच्यते अनर्थगते इति, न साध्वी यत्रार्थस्य गतिर्भवति?

Why is it said अनर्थगतेः? Is not its meaning well understood?

एवं तर्हि इदं पठितव्यं स्यात् वर्णानुपलब्धौ चातदर्थगतेः इति

If so, it should be read thus वर्णानुपलब्धौ चातदर्थगतेः

किमिदम् अतदर्थगतेरिति ?

What is meant by अतदर्थगतेः ?

तस्यार्थः तदर्थः, तदर्थस्य गतिः तदर्थगतिः, न तदर्थगतिः अतदर्थगतिः, अतदर्थगतेरिति । अथवा सोऽर्थः तदर्थः, तदर्थस्य गतिः तदर्थगतिः, न तदर्थगतिः अतदर्थगतिः, अतदर्थगतेरिति

The word अतदर्थगतेः is taken to be the ablative case of अतदर्थगतिः which is the compound of न and तदर्थगतिः. तदर्थगतिः is taken to be the *tatpuruṣa* compound of तदर्थ and गतिः, where तदर्थ is the compound of तस्य and अर्थः. Or अतदर्थगतेः is taken to be the ablative case of अतदर्थगतिः, which is the compound of न and तदर्थगतिः. तदर्थगतिः is taken to be the *tatpuruṣa* compound of तदर्थ and गतिः, where तदर्थ is the compound of सः and अर्थः

स तर्हि तथा निर्देशः कर्तव्यः

Then it should be read so.

न कर्तव्यः ; उत्तरपदलोपोऽत्र द्रष्टव्यः —तद्यथा उष्ट्रमुखमिव मुखम् अस्य उष्ट्रमुखः, खरमुखः । एवम् अतदर्थगतेः अनर्थगतेः इति

No, it need not be read. Here it is to be construed that the following word has been dropped. Just as in the word उष्ट्रमुखः whose विग्रहवाक्य is उष्ट्रमुखमिव मुखम् अस्य the word मुखम् after उष्ट्र is dropped and also in खरमुखः, so also in the word अनर्थगतेः the word तद् after अ is dropped *.

संघातार्थवत्त्वाच्च

On account of the collection having meaning.

* त between अ and अर्थगते should be taken as intervocalic.

सङ्घातार्थवत्त्वाच्च मन्यामहे अर्थवन्तो वर्णा इति, येषां सङ्घाता अर्थवन्तः, अवयवा अपि तेषाम् अर्थवन्तः। येषां अवयवा अर्थवन्तः समुदाया अपि तेषां अर्थवन्तः — तद्यथा, एकश्चक्षुष्मान् दर्शने समर्थः, तत्समुदायश्च शतमपि समर्थम्; एकश्च तिलस्तैलदाने समर्थः तत्समुदायश्च खार्यपि तैलदाने समर्था; येषां पुनरवयवा अनर्थकाः समुदाया अपि तेषामनर्थकाः—तद्यथा, एकोऽन्धो दर्शने असमर्थः तत्समुदायश्च शतमप्यसमर्थम्, एका च सिकता तैलदाने असमर्था तत्समुदायश्च खारीशतमप्यसमर्थम्

We think that letters have meaning since their collection has meaning. If the collections of letters have meaning, their parts too, have meaning. If the parts have meaning, their wholes also have meaning. e.g. If one man with eyes is able to see, a collection of hundred such men is able to see. If one gingelly seed is capable of giving oil, a *khārī* of gingelly seed is capable of giving oil. If the parts have no meaning, their wholes also cannot have meaning; e.g. If one blind man is not able to see, a collection of hundred such men cannot see; if one particle of sand cannot give oil, hundred *khārī* of the same cannot give oil.

यदि तर्हि इमे वर्णा अर्थवन्तः अर्थवत्कृतानि प्राप्नुवन्ति *

If then these letters have meaning, they will be operated upon by the rules which operate on those that have meaning.

कानि ? What are they ?

अर्थवत्प्रातिपदिकम् इति प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा, प्रातिपदिकात् इति स्वाद्युत्पत्तिः, सुबन्तं पदम् इति पदसंज्ञा

* एतदुक्तं भवति प्रयोगे अर्थवत्तया [illegible] [illegible], शास्त्रेषु [illegible] (*Pradīpikā*)

They will get the designation प्रातिपदिकम् by अर्थवत्प्रातिपदिकम्, will receive the case suffixes after them by प्रातिपदिकात् and will get the designation पदम् by सुबन्तं पदम्

तत्र को दोषः ?

What is the harm there ?

पदस्य इति नलोपादीनि प्राप्नुवन्ति धनं वनम् इति

The elision of न and others will take place in the words धनम् and वनम् by the operation of पदस्य.

संघातस्यैकार्थ्यात् सुबभावो वर्णात्

Collection having one meaning, absence of case-suffixes after letters.

संघातस्य एकत्वमर्थः, तेन वर्णात्सुबुत्पत्तिर्न भविष्यति

Since the collection has one meaning, case-suffixes will not come after each letter.

अनर्थकास्तु प्रतिवर्णमर्थानुपलब्धेः

Letters, on the other hand, have no meaning since meaning is not had for every letter.

अनर्थकास्तु वर्णाः, कुतः ? प्रतिवर्णमर्थानुपलब्धेः । न हि प्रतिवर्णमर्था उपलभ्यन्ते । किमिदं प्रतिवर्णमिति ? वर्णं वर्णं प्रति प्रतिवर्णम्

Letters have no meaning. Why ? Since meaning is not found for every letter. Meanings are not got for every letter. How is प्रतिवर्णम् derived ? प्रतिवर्णम् is derived thus—वर्णं वर्णं प्रति.

वर्णव्यत्ययापायोपजनविकारेष्वर्थदर्शनात्

Since the same meaning is present though there is metathesis, elision, augment or substitution of letters.

वर्णव्यत्ययापायोपजनविकारेष्वर्थदर्शनान्मन्यामहे अनर्थका वर्णा इति । वर्णव्यत्यये—कृतेस्तर्कुः, कसेः सिकता, हिंसेः सिंहः ; वर्णव्यत्ययो नार्थव्यत्ययः । अपायो लोपः—हतः, घ्नन्ति, घ्नन्तु, अघ्नन् ; वर्णापायो नार्थापायः । उपजन आगमः—लविता, लवितुम्, वर्णोपजनो नार्थोपजनः । विकार आदेशः—घातयति, घातकः, वर्णविकारो नार्थविकारः । यथा च वर्णव्यत्ययापायोपजनविकारा भवन्ति तद्वत् अर्थव्यत्ययापायोपजनविकारैर्भवितव्यम् न चेह तद्वत् । अतो मन्यामहे अनर्थका वर्णा इति ।

We think that letters have no meaning since the same meaning is found though there is metathesis, elision, augment or substitution of letters. In metathesis, तर्कु is from कृत्, सिकता is from कस् and सिंह is from हिंस् ; there is metathesis only of letters and no change in meaning. अपाय means elision—e.g. हतः, घ्नन्ति, घ्नन्तु, अघ्नन्. Here is elision of letters and not of meaning. उपजन means augment e.g. लविता, लवितुम्. Here is only augment of letters and not of meaning. विकार means आदेश e.g. घातयति, घातक. Here is only substitution of letters and not of meaning. As there is metathesis, elision, augment or substitution of letters, so should there be change, elision, augment and substitution in meaning. It is not so here. Hence we think that letters have no meaning.

उभयमिदं वर्णेषूक्तम् अर्थवन्तोऽनर्थका इति च, किमत्र न्याय्यम् ?

Both has been said with regard to letters that they have meaning and that they have not. Which is right here?

उभयमित्याह ।

Both, says he.

कुतः ? How ?

स्वाभाव्यात् । तद्यथा—समानमीहमानानां चाधीयानानां केचिदर्थैर्युज्यन्ते अपरे न ; न चेदानीं कश्चिदर्थवानिति कृत्वा सर्वैरर्थवद्भिः शक्यं भवितुम्, कश्चिद्वा अनर्थक इति कृत्वा सर्वैरनर्थकैः

By nature. For instance, of those persons who study equally with the same hope (of getting money), some get it and others do not.* Because one gets money, it is not necessary that all have got money and because one has not got money, it is not necessary that all have not got money.

तत्र किमस्माभिः शक्यं कर्तुम् ?

If so, what are we to do here ?

यद्धातुप्रत्ययप्रातिपदिकनिपाता एकवर्णा अर्थवन्तो अतोऽन्येऽनर्थका इति । स्वाभाविकमेतत्

Such single letters as stand as roots, affixes, stems and *nipātas* have meaning and the rest have no meaning. This is quite natural.

कथं य एष भवता वर्णानामर्थवत्ताया हेतुरुपदिष्टः अर्थवन्तो वर्णा धातुप्रातिपदिकप्रत्ययनिपातानामेकवर्णानामर्थदर्शनाद्वर्णव्यत्यये चार्थान्तरगमनाद्वर्णानुपलब्धौ चानर्थगतेः सङ्घातार्थवत्त्वाच्च इति ? सन्ति तान्यन्तराण्येवैतान्येवजातीयकानि अर्थान्तरेषु वर्तन्ते, कूप सूपो यूप इति । यदि हि वर्णव्यत्ययकृतमर्थान्तरगमनं स्यात् भूयिष्ठः कूपार्थः सूपे स्यात्, सूपार्थश्च कूपे, कूपार्थश्च यूपे, यूपार्थश्च कूपे, सूपार्थश्च यूपे, यूपार्थश्च सूपे ; यतस्तु खलु न† किञ्चित्कूपस्य वा सूपे, सूपस्य वा कूपे, कूपस्य वा यूपे, यूपस्य वा

* This sentence is interpreted also thus :—Of those who equally strive after (wealth) some get it and others do not ; of those who equally study some get the desired object and others do not.

† कश्चित् is another reading.

कूपे, सूपस्य वा यूपे, यूपस्य वा सूपे, अतो मन्यामहे सङ्घातान्तराण्येवैतान्येवंजातीयकानि अर्थान्तरेषु वर्तन्त इति । इदं त्वपि भवता वर्णानामर्थवत्तां ब्रुवता साधीयोऽनर्थकत्वं द्योतितं—यो हि मन्यते यः कूपे कूपार्थः स ककारस्य, यः सूपे सूपार्थः स सकारस्य, यो यूपे यूपार्थः स यकारस्येति, ऊपशब्दस्तस्यानर्थकः स्यात्

What about the reasons enunciated by you to comprehend that letters have meaning—अर्थवन्तो वर्णाः, सङ्घातार्थवत्त्वाच्च ? The words of the type कूप, सूप and यूप are different letter smaller groups having different meanings. If the change in their meaning is due only to the change of a single letter, the major portion of the meaning of कूप should be in सूप, that of सूप in कूप, that of कूप in यूप, that of यूप in कूप, that of सूप in यूप and that of यूप in सूप. Since there is nothing of the meaning of कूप in सूप, that of सूप in कूप, that of कूप in यूप, that of यूप in कूप, that of सूप in यूप and that of यूप in सूप, we think that these are different groups having different meanings. Even this has been very well suggested by you that letters have no meaning while proving that letters have meaning. He who thinks that the meaning of कूप is in ककार, that of सूप in सकार, and that of यूप in यकार, has to decide that ऊप has no meaning.

तदेतदपरिहृतं सङ्घातार्थवत्त्वाच्चेति

There thus सङ्घातार्थवत्त्वाच्च has been left unanswered.

एतस्यापि प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञायां परिहारं वक्ष्यति

Answer for this also will be given later while dealing with प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा *

* The answer is this, दृष्टो ह्यन्यदर्थेन समुदायगुणानां ह्यर्थभावः [illegible]. It is seen that wholes have meaning unconnected with the meaning of the parts, as wine and chariot are unconnected with the quality of their parts.

V

अइउण् , ऋलृक् , एओङ् , ऐऔच्

प्रत्याहारेऽनुबन्धानां कथमज्ग्रहणेषु * न

Why is the non-inclusion of *anubandhas* in the *pratyāhāra* अच् ?

य एते अक्षु प्रत्याहारार्था अनुबन्धाः क्रियन्ते एतेषामज्ग्रहणेन ग्रहणं कस्मान्न भवति ?

Why are not the *anubandhas* (ण् क् ङ् and च्) which are read in the *sūtras* अइउण् , ऋलृक् , एओङ् and ऐऔच् to form प्रत्याहारs included under अच् ?

किं च स्यात् ?

What if they are included ?

दधि णकारीयति, मधु णकारीयति, इति इको यणचि इति यणादेशः प्रसज्येत

इ and उ of दधि and मधु in दधि णकारीयति and मधु णकारीयति will respectively be replaced by य् and व् on the strength of the *sūtra* इको यणचि

आचारात्

By *ācāra*.

किमिदमाचारात् ?

What is here meant by आचारात् ?

आचार्याणामुपचारात् । नैतेष्वाचार्या अच्कार्याणि कुर्वन्ति

By the application of *Ācārya*. † *Ācārya* has not treated them as अच् .

* अक्षु is another reading. It means अच्प्रत्याहारवाच्यकेषु

† The *Ācārya* here refers to the author of the *sūtra* सूत्रकारस्य कात्यायनस्य.

अप्रधानत्वात्

On account of their secondary nature.

अप्रधानत्वाच्च न खल्वप्येतेषां अक्षु प्राधान्येनोपदेशः क्रियते

Since they are secondary here, they are not read in these four *sūtras* primarily.

क्व तर्हि ?

Where then are they read primarily ?

हल्षु

In the *sūtras* which enable us to form the *pratyāhāra* हल्.

कुत एतत् ?

How is it so understood ?

एषा ह्याचार्यस्य शैली लक्ष्यते, यत्तुल्यजातीयांस्तुल्यजातीयेषु उपदिशति, अचोऽक्षु. हलो हल्षु

This is the procedure of *Ācārya* that he reads the letters of the same family together. The vowels in the *sūtras* forming the *pratyāhāra* अच् and consonants in those forming the *pratyāhāra* हल् .

लोपश्च बलवत्तरः

The elision is stronger.

लोपः खल्वपि तावद्भवति

The elision (by the *sūtra* तस्य लोपः) takes place before (the formation of प्रत्याहार by the *sūtra* आदिरन्त्येन सहेता)

ऊकालोऽज्झिति वा योगस्तत्कालानां यथा भवेत् ।
अचां ग्रहणमच्कार्यं तेनैषां न भविष्यति ॥

The *sūtra* is split as ऊकालोऽच्, so that the designation अच् may come only to such sounds as have their quantity and so that it may not come to these.

अथवा योगविभागः करिष्यते, ऊकालोऽच् उ ऊ ऊ३ इत्येवंकालोऽज्भवति। ततः ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतः, ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतसंज्ञश्च भवति ऊकालोऽच्

Or the *sūtra* is split thus ऊकालोऽच्, meaning that अच् is that which has the quantity of उ, ऊ and ऊ३ and then ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुत meaning that अच् having ऊकाल get the designation of ह्रस्व, दीर्घ and प्लुत.

एवमपि कुक्कुट इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति

Even then the designation अच् will come to क्कु of कुक्कुट

तस्मात् पूर्वोक्त एव परिहारः

Hence the answer has already been given. *

एष एवार्थः

The same is the conclusion.

अपर आह †

Another says.

ह्रस्वादीनां वचनात् प्राग्यावच्चावदेव योगोऽस्तु ।
अच्कार्याणि यथा स्युस्तत्कालेष्वच्षु कार्याणि ॥

Let the *sūtra* be as it is before ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतः—so that the rules dealing with अच् may operate upon such अच् as have that quantity.

* At the end of ऐऔच् *bhāṣya*.

† This shows that *Mahābhāṣyakāra* commented upon *vārttikas* of different authors some of which were in *śloka* form.

VI

अथ किमर्थम् अन्तःस्थानामण्सूपदेशः क्रियते * ?

Now why are the semi vowels so mentioned as to be operated upon by the *sūtra* अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः.

इह सय्यँय्यन्ता सव्वँव्वत्सरः यल्ँलँल्लोकम् तल्ँलँल्लोकम् इति परसवर्णस्यासिद्धत्वात् अनुस्वारस्यैव द्विर्वचनम् । तत्र परस्य परसवर्णे कृते तस्य यय्ग्रहणेन ग्रहणात् पूर्वस्यापि परसवर्णो यथा स्यात्

Since, in the examples सय्यँय्यन्ता सव्वँव्वत्सरः, यल्ँलँल्लोकम्, तल्ँलँल्लोकम्, परसवर्ण (by the *sūtra* अनुस्वारस्य ययि परसवर्णः) is *asiddha*, the doubling will be to the *anusvāra* alone. When the second is made परसवर्ण there, the first too may be made परसवर्ण taking the second to be यय्.

नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् । वक्ष्यत्येतत्—द्विर्वचने परसवर्णत्वं सिद्धं वक्तव्यम्—इति । यावता सिद्धत्वमुच्यते परसवर्ण एव तावद्भवति

No, this is not the benefit. He is going to say that परसवर्णत्वं in the case of द्विर्वचन is to be considered सिद्ध. Since it is stated सिद्ध, परसवर्णत्व first takes place.

परसवर्णे तर्हि कृते तस्य यर्ग्रहणेन ग्रहणाद्द्विर्वचनं यथा स्यात्

If then परसवर्णत्व is made, doubling will take place since it may be considered यर्.

मा भूद् द्विर्वचनम्

Let there be no doubling.

* *cf.* किमर्थमणुदित्सवर्णस्य इति णकारेण प्रत्याहारः क्रियते यत्र अन्तःस्था अप्यन्तर्भाव्यन्ते न पुनश्चकारेण प्रत्याहारः क्रियते (*Pradīpikā*)

अन्तःस्थानामण्सूपदेशः कस्मात् कृत इति प्रश्नः (*Kaiyaṭa*)

अण् सूपदेशः ... अणाम् उपदेश इति तु नार्थः (*Nāgeśa*)

ननु च भेदो भवति, सति द्विर्वचने त्रियकारकम्, असति द्विर्वचने द्वियकारकम्
Ob. difference will there be ! When there is doubling, there will be three यकारs and when there is no doubling, there will be only two यकारs.

नास्ति भेदः ; सत्यपि द्विर्वचने द्वियकारकमेव

No, there is no difference; since even when there is doubling, there are only two यकारs.

कथम् ! How ?

हलो यमां यमि लोपः इत्येवमेकस्य लोपेन भवितव्यम्

One should be dropped on the operation of the *sutra* हलो यमां यमि लोपः

एवमपि भेदः, सति द्विर्वचने कदाचित् द्वियकारकं, कदाचित् त्रियकारकम्, असति द्वियकारकमेव

Even then there will be difference. When there is doubling, there will be sometimes three *yakāras* and sometimes two *yakāras*. If there is no doubling, there will be only two *yakāras*.

स एव कथं भेदो न स्यात् !

How will there be no such difference ?

यदि नित्यो लोपः स्यात् ; विभाषा च स लोपः

(It will be so) if the elision is नित्य, but it is विभाषा

यथाऽभेदस्तथास्तु

Let it be taken in that way wherein there will be no difference.

अनुवर्तते विभाषा शरोऽचि यद्वाग्यत्ययं द्वित्वम्

विभाषा follows since he prohibits doubling by the *sūtra* **शरोऽचि.**

यदय शरोऽचि इति द्विर्वचनप्रतिषेधं शास्ति, तत् ज्ञापयत्याचार्योऽनुवर्तते विभाषा इति

Since he prohibits doubling by the *sūtra* **शरोऽचि.** *Ācārya* suggests that **विभाषा** follows.

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम् ?

On what interpertation will it become **ज्ञापक** ?

नित्ये हि तस्य लोपे प्रतिषेधार्थो न कश्चित् स्यात्

If the *lopa* is *nitya*, there will be no use of prohibition.

यदि नित्यो लोपः स्यात् प्रतिषेधवचनमनर्थकं स्यात् । अस्त्वत्र द्विर्वचनं, **झरो झरि सवर्णे** इति लोपो भविष्यति । पश्यति त्वाचार्यो विभाषा स लोप इति; ततो द्विर्वचनप्रतिषेधं शास्ति

If the elision is *nitya*, the *sūtra* enjoining prohibition will be of no use. Let there be doubling. Elision takes place by the *sūtra* **झरो झरि सवर्णे** *Ācārya* sees that the elision is optional and so reads the *sūtra* prohibiting doubling.

नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम् । नित्येऽपि तस्य लोपे स प्रतिषेधोऽवश्यं वक्तव्य, यदेतद् **अचो रहाभ्यां** इति द्विर्वचनं लोपापवादः स विज्ञायते

No, this is not a **ज्ञापक;** for the *sūtra* of prohibition need be mentioned even when the elision is *nitya* since the doubling enjoined by the *sūtra* **अचो रहाभ्याम्** is considered to be the **अपवाद** to the **लोप.**

कथम् ? How ?

यर इत्युच्यते, एतावन्तश्च यरः यदुत झरो वा यमो वा । यदि चात्र लोपः स्यात् द्विर्वचनमनर्थकं स्यात्

यर is said; both झर and यमः are यरः. If there is elision here, doubling will be of no use.

किं तर्हि तयोर्योगयोरुदाहरणम्?

What then are the examples for those two *sūtras*?

यदकृते द्विर्वचने त्रिव्यञ्जनः संयोगः प्रत्तम् अवत्तम् आदित्यः । इहेदानीं कर्ता हर्ता इति द्विर्वचनसामर्थ्याल्लोपो न भवति । एवमिहापि लोपो न स्यात् कर्पति वर्पति इति । तस्मान्नित्येऽपि लोपे अवश्यं स प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः

Where, in the absence of doubling, there are three consonants together e.g. प्रत्तम् अवत्तम् आदित्यः. Here now in the examples कर्ता and हर्ता there is no elision on the strength of the enjoining of doubling. So also here in the examples कर्पति and वर्पति there is no elision. Hence even when the elision is *nitya*, that prohibition should needs be said.

तदेतदत्यन्तं सन्दिग्धं वर्तते आचार्याणां विभाषा अनुवर्तते न वेति

Hence it is extremely doubtful whether विभाषा is taken to follow or not.

लण्

अयं णकारो द्विरनुबध्यते पूर्वश्चैव परश्च, तत्र अण्ग्रहणेषु इण्ग्रहणेषु च सन्देहो भवति, पूर्वेण वा स्युः परेण वा इति

This णकार is used twice at the end of the *pratyāhāra sūtras* one before and the other after. There in the *sūtras* having अण् and इण् arises the doubt whether the *pratyāhāra* is with the former ण् or with the latter ण्.

कतरस्मिंस्तावदण्ग्रहणे सन्देहः ?

In which *sūtra* mentioning अण् does the doubt arise ?

ढ्रलोपे पूर्वस्य दीर्घोऽणः इति

In the *sūtra* ढ्रलोपे पूर्वस्य दीर्घोऽणः.

असन्दिग्धं पूर्वेण, न परेण

It is beyond doubt that it is with the former and not with the latter.

कुत एतत् ?

How is it so understood ?

पराभावात्

On account of the absence of those with the latter ण्

न हि ढ्रलोपे परेऽणः सन्ति

When there is ढ्रलोप, there are no letters which are included in the *pratyāhāra* अण् with the latter ण्.

ननु चायमस्ति आतृढः आवृढः इति [†]

Oh there is आतृढः आवृढः !

एवं तर्हि सामर्थ्यात् पूर्वेण न परेण । यदि हि परेण स्यात् अण्ग्रहणमनर्थकं स्यात्, ढ्रलोपे पूर्वस्य दीर्घोऽचः इत्येव ब्रूयात् । अथ वैतदपि न ब्रूयात्, अचो ह्येतद्भवति ह्रस्वो दीर्घः प्लुत इति

If so, by सामर्थ्य it is with the former and not with the latter. Had it been with the latter, the mention of अण् would have been of no use since he would have read ढ्रलोपे पूर्वस्य दीर्घोऽच .

Or he would not have read even अचः since ह्रस्वत्व, दीर्घत्व and प्लुतत्व can belong only to अच्.

अस्मिंस्तर्हि अण्ग्रहणे सन्देहः केऽणः इति

If so, there is doubt in the *sūtra* केऽणः where अण् is found.

असन्दिग्धं पूर्वेण, न परेण

It is, beyond doubt, with the former and not with the latter.

कुत एतत् ?

How is it so understood ?

पराभावात् । न हि के परे अण सन्ति

On account of the absence of those with the latter ण्. For there are no letters included in the *pratyāhāra* अण् with the latter ण् before the *pratyaya* ka.

ननु चायमस्ति गोका नौका इति !

Oh there is this गोका नौका !

एवं तर्हि सामर्थ्यात् पूर्वेण न परेण । यदि हि परेण स्याद् अण्ग्रहणमनर्थकं स्यात्, केऽच इत्येव ब्रूयात् । अथ वैतदपि न ब्रूयात्, अचो ह्येतद्भवति ह्रस्वो दीर्घ प्लुत इति

If so, by सामर्थ्य it is with the former and not with the latter. Had it been with the latter, the mention of अण् would serve no purpose since he would have read केऽचः. Or he would not have read even अचः since ह्रस्वत्व, दीर्घत्व and प्लुतत्व can belong only to अच्.

अस्मिंस्तर्हि अण्ग्रहणे सन्देहः अणोऽप्रगृह्यस्यानुनासिकः इति

If so, there is doubt in this *sūtra* अणोऽप्रगृह्यस्य अनुनासिकः which contains अण्.

असन्दिग्धं पूर्वेण, न परेण

It is, beyond doubt, with the former and not with the latter.

कुत एतत् ?

How is it so understood ?

पराभावात् । न हि पदान्ताः परेण्याः सन्ति

On account of the absence of those with the latter ण्. There are no letters in the *pratyāhāra* अण् with the latter ण् which are finals of padas.

ननु चायमस्ति कर्तृ, हर्तृ !

Oh there is this कर्तृ, हर्तृ !

एवं तर्हि सामर्थ्यात्पूर्वेण न परेण । यदि हि परेण स्यात् अण्ग्रहणमनर्थकं स्यात् अचोऽप्रगृह्यस्यानुनासिकः इत्येव ब्रूयात् । अथ एतदपि न ब्रूयात् अच एव हि प्रगृह्या भवन्ति

If so, by सामर्थ्य it is with the former and not with the latter. Had it been with the former, the mention of अण् would serve no purpose since he would have read अचोऽप्रगृह्यस्यानुनासिकः. Or he would not have read even अचः since only vowels can be प्रगृह्यs.

अस्मिंस्तर्हि अण्ग्रहणे सन्देहः. उरण् रपर इति

If so, there is doubt in this *sūtra* उरण् रपरः which contains अण्.

असन्दिग्धं पूर्वेण, न परेण

It is, beyond doubt, with the former and not with the latter.

कुत एतत् ?

How is it so understood ?

परभावात् । न हि ऋ स्थाने परे ऽण् सन्ति

On account of the absence of those with the latter ण्. There are no letters in अण् with the latter ण् which can come as *ādeśas* of ऋ.

ननु चायमस्ति कर्त्रर्थं हर्त्रर्थम् इति ।

Oh there is thus कर्त्रर्थं हर्त्रर्थम् !

किं च स्यात् ?

What if ?

यद्यत्र रपरत्वं स्याद् द्वयो रेफयोः श्रवणं प्रसज्येत

If the रेफ here is followed by रेफ, there is the possibility for two रेफs.

हलो यमां यमि लोपः इत्येवमेकस्यात्र लोपो भविष्यतीति

The elision of one of the two will take place by the *sūtra* हलो यमां यमि लोपः.

विभाषा स लोपः । विभाषा श्रवणं प्रसज्येत

That elision is optional. Hence optionally there is the possibility for two रेफs.

अथ नहि नित्यो लोपः रो रि इति

If so, the elision by the *sūtra* रो रि is *nitya*

पदान्तस्यैतत्स्यात्.

It applies only to that which is at the end of *pada*.

न शक्यः स पदान्तस्यैवं विज्ञातुम्, इह हि लोपो न स्यात्—जर्गृधेर्लङ् अजर्घाः, पास्पर्धेः, अपास्पाः इति

It is not possible to take it to refer only to the रेफ which is पदान्त, for, otherwise there will be no elision in अजर्घाः (imperfect of जर्गृध्), पास्पर्धेः, अपास्पाः

इह तर्हि मातॄणाम् पितॄणाम् इति रपरत्वं प्रसज्येत

If so, there will be रपरत्व in मातॄणाम् and पितॄणाम्.

आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति नात्र रपरत्वं भवतीति यदयम् ऋत इद्धातोः इति धातुग्रहणं करोति

The use of *Ācārya* suggests that there is no रपरत्व here since he reads the word धातोः in the *sūtra* ऋत इद्धातोः

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम्?

How is it to be interpreted to become a ज्ञापक ?

धातुग्रहणस्यैतत्प्रयोजनम्, इह मा भूत् मातॄणाम् पितॄणाम् इति; यदि चात्र रपरत्वं स्यात् धातुग्रहणमनर्थकं स्यात्, रपरत्वे कृते अनन्त्यत्वादित्त्वं न भविष्यति, पश्यति त्वाचार्यो नात्र रपरत्वं भवतीति ततो धातुग्रहणं करोति

Thus is the benefit of the mention of धातु that रपरत्व may not happen in मातॄणाम् and पितॄणाम्. If रपरत्व is here, धातुग्रहण will be of no avail, for after रपरत्व is brought in, there will be no इत्त्व since there will be no अन्त्यत्व. *Ācārya* sees that there is no रपरत्व here and hence reads धातु in the *sūtra*.

इहापि तर्हि इत्त्वं न प्राप्नोति—चिकीर्षति जिहीर्षति

If so, there will be no इत्त्व here also—in चिकीर्षति and जिहीर्षति.

मा भूदेवम्, उपधायाश्चेत्येवं भविष्यति

Let it not be so; इत्त्व comes there by the *sūtra* उपधायाश्च.

इहापि तर्हि प्राप्नोति मातृणां पितृणाम् इति । तस्मात् तत्र धातुग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्

If so, it will come here also in मातृणाम् and पितृणाम्. Hence there is the need for the mention of धातु in the *sutra*

एवं तर्हि सामर्थ्यात्पूर्वेण न परेण । यदि परेण स्याद् अण्ग्रहणमनर्थकं स्यात्, उरऋपर इत्येव ब्रूयात्

If so, by सामर्थ्य, it is with the former and not with the latter Had it been with the latter, the mention of अण् would be of no avail since he would have read उरऋपरः.

अस्मिंस्तर्हि अण्ग्रहणे सन्देह अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः इति

If so, there is doubt in the mention of अण् in the *sūtra* अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः.

असन्दिग्धं परेण न पूर्वेण

It is, beyond doubt, with the latter and not with the former

कुत एतत् ?

How is it so understood ?

सवर्णेऽण् तु परं कृर्कत् *

अण् in the सवर्णग्राहकसूत्र is with the latter since there is कृत् in the *sūtra* उर्कृत्

यदय उर्कृत् इत्युकारे तपरकरणं † करोति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यः परेण न पूर्वेण इति

Since he reads ऋ with त् at the end, he suggests that अण् here is with the latter and not with the former.

* सवर्णेऽण् तपर कृर्कत — another reading

† ऋकारं तपरम् is another reading.

इण्ग्रहणेषु तर्हि सन्देहः

There is, then, doubt in the *sūtras* having इण्.

असन्दिग्धं परेण न पूर्वेण

It is, beyond doubt, with the latter and not with the former.

कुत एतत्?

How is it so understood?

य्वोरन्यत्र परेणण् स्यात्

इण् is with the latter in all places, on account of the mention of य्वोः.

यत्रेच्छति पूर्वेण, समुद्य ग्रहणं तत्र करोति य्वोः इति। तच्च गुरु भवति

Where he wants it with the former, he combines इ and उ and reads य्वोः. It becomes heavier.

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम्?

How is it to be understood to serve as ज्ञापक?

तत्र विभक्तिनिर्देशे समुद्य ग्रहणे अर्धचतस्रो मात्रा, प्रत्याहारग्रहणे पुनस्तिस्रो मात्रा, सोऽयमेवं लघीयसा न्यासेन सिद्धे सति यद्गरीयांसं यत्नमारभते तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यः परेण न पूर्वेण इति।

If there is mention of them in combination with case suffix, there are अर्धचतस्रो मात्राः and if, on the other hand, there is mention through प्रत्याहार, there are only तिस्रो मात्राः. Since *Ācārya* has mentioned so heavily where there is a lighter course, he suggests that इण् is with the latter and not with the former.

किं पुनर्वर्णाल्पत्वादिवायं णकारो द्विरनुबध्यते ?

How is it that ण् is read twice as अनुबन्ध as if there is paucity of letters ?

एतज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो भवत्येषा परिभाषा व्याख्यानतो विशेषप्रतिपत्तिर्न हि सन्देहादलक्षणम् इति

Ācārya suggests from this the परिभाषा that a *sutra* has to be clearly understood from the commentary when it is not clear and it should not be thrown out on that score.

अणुदित्सवर्णं परिहाय पूर्वेणाण्ग्रहणं परेणेण्ग्रहणम् इति व्याख्यास्यामः.

We comment that all अण्'s except in अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः are with the former and (all) इण्s are with the latter.

ञमङणनम् — ञमञ्

किमर्थमिमौ मुखनासिकावचनावनुबध्येते, न मकार एवानुबध्यते ?

What for are these two nasals (म् and ञ्) used as अनुबन्धs ? Will not मकार alone do ?

कथं यानि मकारेण प्रत्याहारग्रहणानि हलो यमां यमि लोपः इति ?

How will then be formed the *pratyāhāras* with म् at the end as in हलो यमां यमि लोपः ?

सन्तु ञकारेण हलो यञां यञि लोपः इति

Let them be with ञकार thus हलो यञां यञि लोपः

नैवं शक्यम्, ञकारभकारपरयोरपि ञकारभकारयोर्लोपः प्रसज्येत

This is not possible since the possibility will arise for the elision of ञ् and भ् when they are followed by ञ् and भ्.

न ञकारमकारौ ञकारमकारपरौ स्तः।

ञ् and म् are not followed by ञ and म्.

कथं पुमः खय्यम्परे इति?

How will then the *sūtra* पुमः खय्यम्परे be?

एतदप्यस्तु अकारेण पुमः खय्यम्परे इति।

Let this also be with the *anubandha* अ thus पुमः खय्यम्परे

नैवं शक्यम्। ञकारमकारपरेऽपि हि खयि रुः प्रसज्येत

This is not possible since the possibility of रु will arise even when खय् is followed by ञ and म्.

न ञकारमकारपरः खय् अस्ति

There is no खय् which is followed by ञ and म्.

कथं ङमो ह्रस्वादचि ङमुण्नित्यम् इति?

How will then the *sūtra* ङमो ह्रस्वादचि ङमुण्नित्यम् be?

एतदप्यस्तु अकारेण ङमो ह्रस्वादचि ङमुण्नित्यम् इति

Let this be with the *anubandha* अ thus ङमो ह्रस्वादचि ङमुण्नित्यम्

नैवं शक्यम्, ञकारमकारयोरपि हि पदान्तयोः ञकारमकारावागमौ स्याताम्

This is not possible since the final ञ and म् will get ञ and म् as augments.

न ञकारमकारौ पदान्तौ स्तः

There are no final ञ and म्.

एवमपि पञ्चागमास्त्रय आगमिनः. वैषम्यात्सङ्ख्यातानुदेशो न प्राप्नोति।

Even then, there are five आगमs and three आगमिन्s and so there will be difficulty in the operation of यथासंख्यशास्त्र.

सन्तु तावद्येषामागमानामागमिनः सन्ति, इकारभकारौ पदान्तौ न स्त इति कृत्वा आगमावपि न भविष्यतः

Let such be the आगमs which have आगमिन्s. Since इ and भ are not final, they do not get आगमs.

अथ किमिदमक्षरमिति ? *

Now what is meant here by अक्षरम् ?

अक्षरं न क्षरं विद्यात्

अक्षरं should be taken to mean न क्षरम्.

न क्षीयते न क्षरतीति वा अक्षरम्

It should be derived in either of the two ways—न क्षीयते and न क्षरति.

अश्नोतेर्वा सरोऽक्षरम्

Or it may be derived from the root अश् with the suffix सर.

अश्नोतेर्वा पुनरयमौणादिकः सरन् प्रत्ययः । अश्नुते इत्यक्षरम्

The root अश् is followed by the suffix सरन्. अक्षरम् is derived from the root अश्.

* Since the 14 *sûtras* are called अक्षरसमाम्नाय, he gives the meaning of अक्षर.

वर्णं वाहुः पूर्वसूत्रे *

In earlier works अक्षर was explained as letter

अथवा पूर्वसूत्रे वर्णस्य अक्षरमिति संज्ञा क्रियते

Or in earlier works वर्ण is given the designation अक्षर.

किमर्थमुपदिश्यते ?

What for are those read ?

अथ किमर्थमुपदेशः क्रियते ?

Then what for is their mention made ?

वर्णज्ञानं वाग्विषयो यत्र च ब्रह्म वर्तते ।
तदर्थमिष्टबुद्ध्यर्थं लघ्वर्थं चोपदिश्यते ॥ †

* This suggests that there was a *Vyākaraṇa* in the form of *sūtras* [illegible] *Pāṇini*. There are many places where *Mahābhāṣyakāra* makes [illegible] 'पूर्वसूत्रे' [illegible] पूर्वसूत्रे च येऽनुबन्धा न तैरिहेत्कार्याणि क्रियन्ते (VII, 1. 18).

† [illegible] वर्णसमाम्नायार्थं उपदेश इति, तदेव श्लोकवार्तिककारोऽप्याह (*Pradīpa*). From this it is clear that the two verses—

अक्षरं न क्षरं विद्यादश्नोतेर्वा सरोऽक्षरम् ।
वर्णं वाहुः पूर्वसूत्रे किमर्थमुपदिश्यते ॥
वर्णज्ञानं वाग्विषयो यत्र च ब्रह्म वर्तते ।
तदर्थमिष्टबुद्ध्यर्थं लघ्वर्थं चोपदिश्यते ॥

are the work of a श्लोकवार्तिककार other than *Kātyāyana*.

सोऽयमक्षरसमाम्नायो वाक्समाम्नायः पुष्पित. फलित चन्द्रतारकवत्प्रतिमण्डितो वेदितव्यो ब्रह्मराशि., सर्ववेदपुण्यफलावाप्तिश्चास्य ज्ञाने भवति, मातापितरौ चास्य स्वर्गे लोके महीयेते

The *śāstra* through which the knowledge of वर्ण is got has for its subject वाक् where resides ब्रह्मन् . For its sake, for knowing the needed ones and for the sake of simplicity is it (*akṣara-samāmnaya*) read. This collection of letters which is the collection of speech should be taken to be ब्रह्मराशि when it blossoms, fructifies and shines like moon and stars. Its knowledge leads one to realise the fruits realised by the study of all Vedas and his parents thrive well in Heaven.

प्रत्याहाराह्निकम् ends.

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3. वृद्ध्याह्निकम्

In this *āhnika* two *sūtras*, *vṛddhirādaic* and *adeṅguṇaḥ* [illegible] are discussed at length. This is called *vṛddhyāhnika* since the first word of the first *sūtra* is *vṛddhi*.

वृद्धिरादैच् *

Here *eight* topics are dealt with. They are (1) why was the *sūtra* not read as वृद्धिरादैक् ? (2) is वृद्धिरादैच् *uddeśya* or आदैच् [illegible]? (3) need for the *adhikārasūtra* अथ संज्ञा at the beginning. (4) is this *sūtra saṃjñāvidhāyaka* or *sādhuśabdānuśāsaka* ? (5) of the two वृद्धिः and आदैच्, which is संज्ञा and which is संज्ञिन् ? (6) अन्योन्याश्रयनापाकरणम् (7) the need for the word प्रत्येकम् in this *sūtra* and the next and (8) what is the need for तपरकरण in आत् of आदैच् ?

I

कुत्वं † कस्मान्न भवति, चोः कुः पदस्येति ? ‡

Why is not the final च् of the word आदैच् replaced by क् as is sanctioned by the *sūtra* चोः कुः ?

* That this *sūtra* consists of 2 words वृद्धि and आदैच् is known from the word [illegible] [illegible] the statement of *Bhāṣyakāra* later on in this *sūtra* [illegible]. That it may be [illegible] to be made up of three [illegible] [illegible] from the *Bhāṣya* [illegible] [illegible] in the first *āhnika*. When आदैच् [illegible] not take the form आदैचम् since *samāsāntavidhi* is considered to be *anitya*.

† [illegible] does not refer to all the five letters of कवर्ग, but to क alone.

‡ If one thinks that this point does not arise since [illegible] [illegible] for the *laukika* and *vaidika* words and *sūtra* is neither [illegible] [illegible] given the answer [illegible] the *saṃjñā vṛddhi*, which is enjoined [illegible] has been taken to be *laukika* but its relation to *saṃjñin* is considered to be *nitya*, the word [illegible] should also be considered a *laukika* word [illegible] may be considered to be the *anukaraṇa* of what is found in the [illegible] [illegible] uphold the theory नर्थो शब्दानां प्रवृत्ति should take आदैच् to be *jātivācaka*.

भत्वात्

Because it is taken to be *bha* (and not *pada*).

कथं भसंज्ञा ?

On what authority is it *bha* ?

अयस्मयादीनि छन्दसि इति

By the *sūtra* अयस्मयादीनि छन्दसि.

छन्दसीत्युच्यते, न चेदं छन्दः

The word *chandasi* is found there and this is not *chandas*.

छन्दोवत्सूत्राणि भवन्ति *

Vyākaraṇa sūtras are treated like Vedic expressions.

यदि भसंज्ञा वृद्धिरादैजदेङ्गुण इति जश्त्वमपि न प्राप्नोति

If it is *bha* and not *pada*, it will not change to ज् as is found in वृद्धिरादैजदेङ्गुणः.

उभयसंज्ञान्यपि छन्दांसि दृश्यन्ते, तद्यथा स सुष्टुभा स ऋक्वता गणेन (R. V. IV. 50, 5) पदत्वात् कुत्वं भत्वाज्जश्त्वं न भवति, एवमिहापि पदत्वाज्जश्त्वं भत्वात्कुत्वं न भविष्यति

Vedic expressions are found to have both the *samjñās* as in स सुष्टुभा स ऋक्वता गणेन, where च् is changed to क् on account of *pada samjñā* and क् is not changed to ग् on account of *bhasamjñā* in the word ऋक्वता. Similarly here च् is changed to ज् on account of *pada samjñā* and it is not changed to क् on account of *bha-samjñā*.

* Since *Vyākaraṇa* is said to be an important limb of Vedas in the first *āhnika*, it may be treated like Vēdas. The reason for not [illegible] read ऐच् as ऐज् may be said to be for the sake of clearness. ऐच् [illegible] make the reader understand easily that *Pāṇini* refers to the *pratyāhāra*.

II

किं पुनरिदं तद्भावितग्रहणं, वृद्धिरित्येवं ये आकारैकारौकारा भाव्यन्ते तेषां ग्रहणम्, आहोस्विदादैज्मात्रस्य

Is it, in this *sūtra, tadbhāvitagrahaṇa** (i.e.) reference to the letters ā, ai and au got by the *sūtras* enjoining *vṛddhi* or reference to the letters ā, ai and au alone. (In other words, does the designation *vṛddhi* refer to only those letters ā, ai, *au* enjoined by the term *vṛddhi* or to all ā, ai and au?)

किं चातः ?

What if (whether it is *tadbhāvitagrahaṇa* or not)?

यदि तद्भावितग्रहणं शालीयः मालीय इति वृद्धलक्षणश्छो न प्राप्नोति । आम्रमयम् शालमयम् — वृद्धलक्षणो मयट् न प्राप्नोति, आम्रगुप्तायनिः शालगुप्तायनिः — वृद्धलक्षणः फिञ् न प्राप्नोति ।

If it is *tadbhāvitagrahaṇa*, the *pratyaya* '*cha*' by the *sūtra vṛddhāc chaḥ* cannot be suffixed to the words शाला and माला to get the forms शालीयः and मालीयः; the *pratyaya* '*mayaṭ*' by the *sūtra* '*nityaṃ vṛddhaśarādibhyaḥ*' cannot be suffixed to the words आम्र and शाल to get the forms आम्रमयम् and शालमयम्, and the *pratyaya* '*phiñ*' by the *sūtra* '*udīcāṃ vṛddhād agotrāt*' to the words आम्रगुप्त and शालगुप्त to get the forms आम्रगुप्तायनिः and शालगुप्तायनिः

अथ आदैज्मात्रस्य ग्रहणम् सर्वो भासः सर्वभासः इति उत्तरपदवृद्धौ सर्वं च इत्येष विधिः प्राप्नोति, इह च तावती भार्या यस्य तावद्भार्यः यावद्भार्यः वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य . . . इति पुंवद्भावप्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति

* In *tadbhāvitagrahaṇa* there is [illegible] the word *vṛddhi*. The [illegible] *tadbhāvitagrahaṇa* and *atadbhāvitagrahaṇa* [illegible]. When [illegible] there is *atadbhāvitagrahaṇa* in [illegible] and *tadbhāvitagrahaṇa* in *luk, lup* etc.

If, on the other hand, there is reference only to *ā*, *ai* and *au*, the *sūtra* '*uttarapadavṛddhau sarvaṃ ca*' * will be applied to the word **सर्वभास** which is the compound of **सर्वो भासः**, when the word will have its final syllable *udātta*, and when **तावती भार्या यस्य, यावती भार्या यस्य** are compounded, there will be no *puṃvadbhāva* so that the forms **तावद्भार्यः**, and **यावद्भार्यः** cannot be formed, (but they would become **तावतीभार्यः** and **यावतीभार्यः**, which forms are not current in the world).

अस्तु तर्हि आदैच्मात्रस्य ग्रहणम्

In that case, let the reference be only to *ā*, *ai* and *au*.

ननु चोक्तं सर्वो भासः सर्वभास इति **उत्तरपदवृद्धौ सर्वं च** इत्येष विधिः प्राप्नोति ?

Has it not been said that, in that case, the *sūtra* **उत्तरपदवृद्धौ** . . . will apply to **सर्वभास** which is the compound of **सर्वो भासः** ?

नैष दोषः, नैवं विज्ञायते उत्तरपदस्य वृद्धिः उत्तरपदवृद्धिः उत्तरपदवृद्धाविति

It is no harm; the word **उत्तरपदवृद्धौ** is not the locative of **उत्तरपदवृद्धि**, the compound of **उत्तरपदस्य वृद्धिः**.

कथं तर्हि ? **How then ?**

उत्तरपदस्य इत्येवं प्रकृत्य या वृद्धिः तद्वत्युत्तरपदे इत्येवमेतद्विज्ञायते । अवश्यं चैतदेवं विज्ञेयम्, तद्भाविग्रहणे सत्यपि इह प्रसज्येत सर्वं कारकं सर्वकारक इति ।

It is understood in this way - **उत्तरपदस्य इत्येवं प्रकृत्य या वृद्धिः तद्वत्युत्तरपदे**. This should be interpreted this way, for, otherwise, even granting *tadbhāvitagrahaṇa* that defect will appear even in the word **सर्वकारकः**, the compound of **सर्वः कारकः**.

* *Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita's vṛtti:* उत्तरपदस्येत्यधिकृत्य या वृद्धिर्विहिता तद्वत्युत्तरपदे परे सर्वशब्दो दिक्शब्दाश्च अन्तोदात्ता भवन्ति ; सर्वपाञ्चालकः । अधिकारग्रहणं किम् ? सर्वभासः ।

यदप्युच्यते इह तावती भार्या यस्य तावद्भार्यः यावद्भार्यः इति च वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य इति पुंवद्भावप्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोतीति, नैष दोषः, नैवं विज्ञायते वृद्धेर्निमित्तं वृद्धिनिमित्तं, वृद्धिनिमित्तस्येति

And the other point that was raised that *puṁvadbhāva pratiṣedha* will happen by the *sūtra* '*vṛddhinimittasya*', in the case of तावद्भार्यः, the compound of तावती भार्या यस्य and यावद्भार्यः, cannot stand, for the word वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य is not taken to be the genitive of वृद्धिनिमित्तम्, the compound of वृद्धेर्निमित्तम्.

कथं तर्हि? How then?

वृद्धिर्निमित्तं यस्मिन् सोऽयं वृद्धिनिमित्तः वृद्धिनिमित्तस्येति

It is the genitive of वृद्धिनिमित्त, the compound of वृद्धिर्निमित्तम् यस्मिन् सः.

किं च वृद्धेर्निमित्तम्?

What is the *nimitta* of *vṛddhi*?

योऽसौ ककारो, ञकारो णकारो वा

Kakāra, *ñakāra* or *ṇakāra*.

अथवा यः कृत्स्नाया वृद्धेर्निमित्तम्

Or that what is the *nimitta* of all *vṛddhi*.

कस्य कृत्स्नायाः वृद्धेर्निमित्तम्?

What is the *nimitta* of all *vṛddhi*?

यत्तदाकारैकारौकाराणाम्

That which is (the *nimitta*) of *ā*, *ai* and *au*.
Since there is no *vārttika* in the first two topics, it is clear that they are *Mahābhāṣyakāra*'s own.

III

संज्ञाधिकारः संज्ञासंप्रत्ययार्थः

Saṃjñādhikāraḥ for clear conception of *saṃjñā*

अथ संज्ञा इत्येव प्रकृत्य वृद्ध्यादयः शब्दाः पठितव्याः । किं प्रयोजनम् ? संज्ञासंप्रत्ययार्थः । वृद्ध्यादीन् शब्दान् संज्ञा इत्येवं संप्रत्ययो यथा स्यात् ।

There should be a *sūtra* अथ संज्ञा before *vṛddhi* etc. What for? *Saṃjñāsaṃpratyayārthaḥ*, so that there may be clear conception that the words like *vṛddhi* are *saṃjñās*.

इतरथा ह्यसंप्रत्ययो यथा लोके

For otherwise, absence of clear conception, as in the world.

अक्रियमाणे हि संज्ञाधिकारे वृद्ध्यादीनां संज्ञेत्येव संप्रत्ययो न स्यात् । इदमिदानीं बहुसूत्रमनर्थकं स्यात् । अनर्थकमित्याह । कथम् ? । यथा लोके, लोके ह्यर्थवन्ति चानर्थकानि च वाक्यानि* दृश्यन्ते अर्थवन्ति तावत्—देवदत्त गामभ्याज शुक्लां दण्डेन, देवदत्त गामभ्याज कृष्णाम् इति ; अनर्थकानि दश दाडिमानि षडपूपाः कुण्डमजाजिनं पललपिण्डः अधरोरुकमेतत्कुमार्याः स्फैयकृतस्य पिता प्रतिशीन इति ।

If *saṃjñādhikāra* is not done, one cannot have a clear conception of *vṛddhi* etc. to be *saṃjñās*. Then many chapters may become meaningless. Meaningless, says he; how? As is in the world. There are sentences in the world both with meaning and without meaning; those that have meaning are at first, देवदत्त ... कृष्णाम्, those that are meaningless are दश ... प्रतिशीनः.

* Note that the word वाक्यानि is used in the sense of groups of words whether they make a sense or no.

संज्ञासंज्ञ्यसंदेहश्च

Removal of the doubt of *samjñā* and *samjñin*.

क्रियमाणेऽपि संज्ञाधिकारे संज्ञासंज्ञिनोरसन्देहो वक्तव्यः । कुतो ह्येतत् वृद्धि-शब्दः संज्ञा, आदैचः संज्ञिन इति ; न पुनरादैचः संज्ञा, वृद्धिशब्दः संज्ञी इति

Even when the *samjñādhikārasūtra* is read, doubt should be cleared as to what is *samjñā* and what is *samjñin*. For how does one know that the word *vṛddhi* is *samjñā* and *ā*, *ai* and *au* are *samjñins* and not *ā*, *ai* and *au* are *samjñās* and *vṛddhi*, *samjñin* ?

यत्तावदुच्यते संज्ञाधिकारः कर्तव्यः संज्ञासम्प्रत्ययार्थ इति, न कर्तव्यः

The first point raised that संज्ञाधिकारः कर्तव्यः संज्ञासंप्रत्ययार्थः need not be.

आचार्याचारात् संज्ञासिद्धिः

The conception of *samjña* from *Ācārya's* use.

आचार्याचारात् संज्ञासिद्धिर्भविष्यति

One can have a definite conception of what is *samjña* from *Ācārya's* using them.

किमिदमाचार्याचारादिति ?

What is here the meaning of आचार्याचारात् ?

आचार्याणामुपचारात्

By the *vyavahāra* of *Ācārya*.

यथा लौकिकवैदिकेषु

As is found in those related to *loka* and *vēda*.

तद्यथा लौकिकेषु वैदिकेषु च कृतान्तेषु । लोके तावन्मातापितरौ पुत्रस्य जातस्य संवृतेऽवकाशे नाम कुर्वाते देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्त इति । तयोरुपचारादन्येऽपि जानन्ति इयमस्य संज्ञेति । वेदेऽपि याज्ञिकाः * संज्ञां कुर्वन्ति स्फ्यो यूपश्चषाल इति । तत्रभवतामुपचारादन्येऽपि जानन्ति इयमस्य संज्ञेति

It is like the happenings in the world and in the *vedas*. First in the world the parents name the child that is born as *Devadatta*, *Yajñadatta* in a closed room and by their use, others understand that it is his name. In the *vedas* too *yājñikas* name sacrificial utensils as *sphya*, *yūpa*, *caṣāla* etc. and from the use of those words made by those venerable men, others understand them to be their respective संज्ञा.

एवमिहापि ; इहैव तावत् केचिद्व्याचक्षाणा आहुः वृद्धिशब्दः संज्ञा, आदैचः संज्ञिन इति ; अपरे पुनः सिचि वृद्धिः ... इत्युक्त्वा आकारैकारौकारानुदाहरन्ति , तेन मन्यामहे यया प्रत्याय्यन्ते सा संज्ञा, ये प्रतीयन्ते ते संज्ञिन इति

So also here; Even here some comment that the word *vṛddhi* is *saṃjñā* and *ā*, *ai* and *au* are *saṃjñins*; others read the *sūtra* सिचि वृद्धिः ... and illustrate it with *ā*, *ai* and *au*; thence do we understand that with which another is denoted is *saṃjñā* and those that are denoted are *saṃjñins*.

यदप्युच्यते क्रियमाणेऽपि संज्ञाधिकारे संज्ञासंज्ञिनोरसन्देहो वक्तव्य इति

As regards the statement क्रियमाणेऽपि ... वक्तव्यः

संज्ञासंज्ञ्यसन्देहश्च

There is no doubt about संज्ञा and संज्ञिन्

* याज्ञिकाः = यज्ञकाण्डद्रष्टारः ऋषयः (*Uddyota*)

संज्ञासंज्ञिनोश्च असन्देहः सिद्धः। कुतः? आचार्याचारादेव, उक्त आचार्याचारः

Evidently there is no doubt with regard to संज्ञा and संज्ञिन्. How? From *Ācārya's ācāra*; *ācāryacāra* has been explained.

अनाकृतिः

That which has no *ākṛti*.

अथवा अनाकृतिः संज्ञा, आकृतिमन्तः संज्ञिनः। लोकेऽपि ह्याकृतिमतो मांसपिण्डस्य देवदत्त इति संज्ञा क्रियते

Or *saṃjñā* is that which has no *ākṛti* and *saṃjñins* are those which have *ākṛti*. Even in the world the name *Devadatta* is given to the mass of flesh having *ākṛti*.*

Since it is not easy here to decide which is *ākṛtimān* and which is *anākṛtimān*, *Vārttikakāra* gives another reason thus:—

लिङ्गेन वा

Or with particular distinguishing mark

अथवा किंचिल्लिङ्गमासज्य वक्ष्यामि इत्थंलिङ्गा संज्ञेति। वृद्धिशब्दे च तल्लिङ्गं करिष्यते, नादैच्छब्दे

Or for using a particular distinguishing mark, I shall say that *saṃjñā* is that which has a particular mark; and that mark is added to *vṛddhi* and not to *ādaic*.

इदं तावदयुक्तम्, यदुच्यते आचार्याचारादिति

The statement *ācāryācārāt* is inappropriate.

* *Ākṛti* though generally means *jāti* here means *manyness*; hence *anākṛti* means *oneness*.

किमत्रायुक्तम् ?

How is it here inappropriate ?

तमेवोपालभ्य अगमकं ते सूत्रमिति तस्यैव पुनः प्रमाणीकरणमित्येतदयुक्तम्, अपरितुष्यन् खल्वपि भवाननेन परिहारेण अनाकृतिर्लिङ्गेन वा इत्याह

Having found fault with him that his *sūtra* is not clear it is inappropriate to take his *sūtra* as the authority. Only not being satisfied with it have you given other reasons *anākṛtiḥ liṅgēna vā.*

तत्रापि वक्तव्यम्

That distinguishing mark will have to be mentioned.

यद्यप्येतदुच्यते, अथवैतर्हि इत्संज्ञा न वक्तव्या, लोपश्च न वक्तव्यः, संज्ञालिङ्गमनुबन्धेषु करिष्यते। न च संज्ञाया निवृत्तिरुच्यते। स्वभावतः संज्ञा संज्ञिनं प्रत्याय्य स्वयं निवर्तते, * तेनानुबन्धानामपि निवृत्तिर्भविष्यति

If it is said, then there is no need for enjoining *it-saṃjñā* and its elision. The distinguishing mark is attached to *anubandhas* (found in roots etc.) and no *sūtra* enjoining its disappearance need be said; as the *saṃjñā* enabling us to understand the *saṃjñin* disappears of its own accord, so also the *anubandhas* disappear.

सिध्यत्येवम्, अपाणिनीयं तु भवति, यथान्यासमेवास्तु

The desired object is thus accomplished. But it goes against *Pāṇini*'s plan. Let the *sūtras* remain as they are.

* संज्ञा संज्ञिनः प्रत्याय्य निवर्तते is another reading.

ननु चोक्तम् संज्ञाधिकारः संज्ञासंप्रत्ययार्थः इतरथा ह्यसंप्रत्ययो यथा लोके इति

Has it not been said that *saṃjñādhikāra* is for clear conception of *saṃjñā* and otherwise there will be no clear conception, as is found in the world?

न च यथा लोके तथा व्याकरणे । प्रमाणभूत आचार्यो दर्भपवित्रपाणिः शुचाववकाशे प्राङ्मुख उपविश्य महता प्रयत्नेन सूत्राणि प्रणयति स्म । तत्राशक्यं वर्णेनाप्यनर्थकेन भवितुं । किं पुनरियता सूत्रेण ?

The same is not the case in grammar as is in the world. The *Ācārya* who is an authority for us composed these *sūtras* with great effort, having seated himself in a clean place with face turned east and with a ring made of *kuśa* grass worn on his fourth finger. Not even a single letter there can be found to be meaningless. What about this whole *sūtra*?

किमतः ? What from that?

यदशक्यम्, अतः संज्ञासंज्ञिनावेव

Since it is not possible (even for a letter to be *anarthaka*), they are *saṃjñā* and *saṃjñin*.

IV

कुतो नु खल्वेतत् संज्ञासंज्ञिनावेवेति, न पुनः साध्वनुशासने अस्मिन् शास्त्रे साधुत्वमनेन क्रियते ?

How is it that it is decided that they are *saṃjñā* and *saṃjñin* and not that they are decided to be correct from this *śāstra* intended to decide the correctness of words?

कृतमनयोः साधुत्वम्

The correctness of these two* has been ascertained.

कथम्? How?

वृधिरस्मा अविशेषेणोपदिष्टः प्रकृतिपाठे, तस्मात् क्तिन्प्रत्ययः। आदैचोऽप्यक्षर-समाम्नाये उपदिष्टाः

The root *vrdh* is read in *prakrtipatha* and the *pratyaya* '*ktin*' is suffixed to it. *Āt* and *aic* are read in *Maheśvarasūtras*.†

प्रयोगनियमार्थं तर्हीदं स्यात्—वृद्धिशब्दात्परे आदैचः प्रयोक्तव्या इति

Let then this be to decide the order of words that *ādaicaḥ* should be used after the word *vrddhiḥ*.

नेह प्रयोगनियम आरभ्यते ‡

The restriction of the order of words is not commenced here.

किं तर्हि? What then?

संस्कृत्य संस्कृत्य पदान्युत्सृज्यन्ते तेषां यथेष्टमभिसम्बन्धो भवति, तद्यथा आहर पात्रम्, पात्रमाहर इति

Words are formed here. They may be connected in any way one likes, as in *āhara pātram* and *pātram āhara*.

* Two refers to *vrddhiḥ* and *ādaic*.

† This sentence means that the letters denoted by *āt* and *aic* are read or promulgated in *Maheśvarasūtras* अइउण् and एऔच्.

‡ This clearly shows that *Pāṇini* does not deal with syntax but only with Phonology and Morphology.

आदेशास्तर्हीमे स्युः, वृद्धिशब्दस्य आदैच आदेशाः

Then may these be *ādeśas*; *ādaicaḥ* are the *ādeśas* of the word *vṛddhiḥ*.

षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टस्यादेशा उच्यन्ते, न चात्र षष्ठीं पश्यामः

Ādeśas are for it that is in the sixth case (explicit or implied). We do not see here the sixth case.

आगमास्तर्हीमे स्युः, वृद्धिशब्दस्यादैच आगमाः

Then may these be augments; *ādaicaḥ* are the augments of the word *vṛddhiḥ*.

आगमा अपि षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टस्योच्यन्ते, लिङ्गेन च। न चात्र षष्ठीं न खल्वप्यागमलिङ्गं पश्यामः

Āgamas also are for it that is in the sixth case or they are denoted to be such by some distinguishing mark. We do not see here either the sixth case or the *āgama* mark.

इह* खल्वपि भूयः सामानाधिकरण्यमेकविभक्तिकत्वं च, द्वयोश्चैतद्भवति

Sāmānādhikaraṇya and *ekavibhaktikatva* are here; this happens only in two cases.

कयोः ?

In which two cases?

विशेषणविशेष्ययोर्वा संज्ञासंज्ञिनोर्वा

In the cases wherein they are the word qualified and the qualifying word or *samjña* and *samjñin*.

* इदम् अत्र cf इदमहमनृतात्सत्यमुपैमि (शतपथम् 1-3 5-7)

तत्रैतत्स्याद्विशेषणविशेष्ये इति

Of the two, let this be the case of *viśeṣaṇa* and *viśeṣya*.

तच्च न, द्वयोर्हि प्रतीतपदार्थकयोर्लोके विशेषणविशेष्यभावो भवति न चेदं त्वदः प्रतीतपदार्थकं । तस्मात् संज्ञासंज्ञिनावेव

No, it is not; for *viśeṣaṇa-viśeṣya-bhāva* happens in the world only in the case of two whose meaning is definitely known. Here the meaning of *idam* is not clear. Hence they are *saṃjñā* and *saṃjñin*.

V

तत्र त्वेतावान् सन्देहः कः संज्ञी का संज्ञेति

There, it is only this doubt, which is *saṃjñā* and which is *saṃjñī*.

स चापि क सन्देहः ?

Where then does that doubt arise?

यत्रोभे समानाक्षरे । यत्र त्वन्यतरल्लघु सा संज्ञा, यद्गुरु स संज्ञी

Where both have the same number of syllables. Where, on the other hand, one has smaller number of syllables and another larger number of syllables, the former is *saṃjñā* and the latter is *saṃjñin*.

कुत एतत् ?

Wherefrom is this?

लघ्वर्थं हि संज्ञाकरणम् ?

For indeed it is for brevity that *saṃjñās* are made!

तत्रापि नावश्यं गुरुलघुतामेवोपलक्षयितुमर्हति

There too it does not invariably signify the *gurutā* and *laghutā*.

किं तर्हि ? · What then ?

अनाकृतितामपि । अनाकृतिः संज्ञा, आकृतिमन्तः संज्ञिनः, लोकेऽपि ह्याकृतिमतो मांसपिण्डस्य देवदत्त इति संज्ञा क्रियते

The state of being without *ākṛti* also. That which has no *ākṛti* is *saṃjñā* and those that have *ākṛti* are *saṃjñins*. In the world, too, the name *Devadatta* is given to the mass of flesh which has *ākṛti*.

अथवा आवर्तिन्यः संज्ञा भवन्ति । वृद्धिशब्दश्चावर्त्यते, नादैचः । तद्यथा इतरत्रापि देवदत्तशब्द आवर्त्यते, न मांसपिण्डः

Or those which are repeated are *saṃjñās*. The word *vṛddhi* is repeated and not *ādaic*. The same is the case elsewhere also; the word *Devadatta* is repeated and not the mass of flesh.

अथवा पूर्वोच्चारितः संज्ञी, परोच्चारिता संज्ञा

Or the first-mentioned is *saṃjñin* and the next-mentioned is *saṃjñā*.

कुत एतत् ?

Whence is this ?

सतो हि कार्यिणः कार्येण भवितव्यम् , तद्यथा इतरत्रापि सतो मांसपिण्डस्य देवदत्त इति संज्ञा क्रियते

For operation comes only when there is an operator. The same is seen even elsewhere—the name *Devadattaḥ* is given only to the existing mass of flesh.

कथं वृद्धिरादैजिति ?

Then how is it *vṛddhirādaic* ? (In other words, why is the order inverted here ?)

एतदेकमाचार्यस्य मङ्गलार्थं मृष्यताम् । माङ्गलिक आचार्यो महतः शास्त्रौघस्य मङ्गलार्थं वृद्धिशब्दमादितः प्रयुङ्क्ते । मङ्गलादीनि हि शास्त्राणि प्रथन्ते वीरपुरुषकाणि च भवन्त्यायुष्मत्पुरुषकाणि चाध्येतारश्च वृद्धियुक्ता यथा स्युरिति * । सर्वत्र हि व्याकरणे पूर्वोच्चारितः संज्ञी, परोच्चारिता संज्ञा, अदेङ्गुणः इति यथा

This one used by *Ācārya* for the sake of *maṅgala* may be passed over. *Ācārya*, eager of *maṅgala*, used at the commencement, the word *vṛddhiḥ* to serve as *maṅgala* for his great work, for, only such works have *maṅgala* at the commencement thrive well, making the readers strong, long-lived and prosperous. In the whole *vyākaraṇa*, the first mentioned is *saṃjñin* and the next mentioned is *saṃjñā*, e.g., *adeṅ guṇaḥ*.

Having definitely mentioned the criterion to decide which is *saṃjñī* and which is *saṃjñā*, he reopens the topic of *saṃjñādhikāra* which he closed by saying न च यथा लोके तथा व्याकरणे.

* cf. माङ्गलिक आचार्यो महतः शास्त्रौघस्य मङ्गलार्थं वकारमागमं प्रयुङ्क्ते । मङ्गलादीनि मङ्गलमध्यानि मङ्गलान्तानि हि शास्त्राणि प्रथन्ते वीरपुरुषकाणि च भवन्ति आयुष्मत्पुरुषकाणि चाध्येतारश्च मङ्गलयुक्ता यथा स्युः (*Bhāṣya* on भूवादयो धातवः I. 3. 1) एवं सूत्रकारेणापि [illegible] वृद्धिशब्दस्य [illegible] अकारो वै सर्वा वाक् सैषा स्पर्शोष्मभिर्व्यज्यमाना नानारूपा भवति [illegible] मङ्गलत्वात् 'अ' इति 'वृद्धा' इति शब्दप्रयोग[illegible] महामङ्गलार्थेन । [illegible] सिद्धम् इति सिद्धशब्दोच्चारणेन कृतं मङ्गलम् (*Udyota* [illegible] III. 1. [illegible])

दोषवान्खल्वपि संज्ञाधिकारः ; अष्टमेऽपि हि संज्ञा क्रियते तस्य परमाम्रेडितम् इति, तत्रापीदमनुवर्त्यं स्यात्

Saṃjñādhikāra will be defective too; For there is *saṃjñā* like तस्य परमाम्रेडितम् in the eighth chapter. There too this *saṃjñā sūtra* should have its influence.

अथवाऽनर्थकोऽयं यत्नः क्रियते, न हीदं लोकाद्भिद्यते । यदि लोकाद्भिद्येत ततो यत्नार्हं स्यात् । तद्यथा अगोज्ञाय कश्चिद् सक्थनि कर्णे वा गृहीत्वोपदिशति अयं गौः इति, न चाख्यायाचष्टे इयमस्य संज्ञेति, भवति चास्य संप्रत्ययः

Or this attempt is inopportune, for this is not different from what is met in the world. If this is different from what happens in the world, then it deserves to be specially treated. For example, one takes hold of a cow by its thigh or ear and tells another ignorant of it 'this is a cow', but he never tells him that it is her *saṃjñā*. Correct impression is formed in the mind of the hearer.

नैतत्स्यात् कृतमत्र पूर्वैरभिसम्बन्धः इति

There this may be said that the *saṃjñā saṃjñi bhāva* was determined by the forefathers.

इहापि कृतः पूर्वैरभिसम्बन्धः

Here too the relation has been determined by the forefathers.

कैः? By whom?

आचार्यैः By the *Ācāryas.*

नैतत्स्यात् यस्मै तर्हि संप्रत्युपदिशति तस्याकृतः इति

There may this arise that he who is now taught does not know it.

लोकेऽपि हि यस्मै सम्प्रत्युपदिश्यते नत्वाह [illegible], अथ तत्र कृत, इहापि कृतो द्रष्टव्यः

In the world too he who is taught does not know it. If he knows it then, here also it should be taken that he knows it.

VI

सतो वृद्ध्यादिषु संज्ञाभावात् तदाश्रय इतरेतराश्रयत्वादप्रसिद्धिः

On account of interdependence since, for naming an existent *saṃjñin* exists and *saṃjñin* being comprehended through *saṃjñā*, there is no clear comprehension of the words *vṛddhi* etc.

सतः संज्ञिनः संज्ञाभावात्, तदाश्रये संज्ञाप्रवर्तिनि, वृद्ध्यादिष्वितरेतराश्रयत्वादप्रसिद्धिः

When *saṃjñin* exists, there is need for naming it, the *saṃjñin* is comprehended through *saṃjñā*. Hence there is interdependence. On that account there is no clear comprehension of the words *vṛddhi* etc. (In *sūtras* like *mṛjāḥ vṛddhiḥ*.)

का इतरेतराश्रयता ?

How is interdependence?

सतामादैचां संज्ञया भवितव्यम्, संज्ञया चादैचो भाव्यन्ते, तदितरेतराश्रयं भवति, इतरेतराश्रयाणि च कार्याणि न प्रकल्पन्ते, तद्यथा नौर्नावि बद्धा नेतरत्राणाय भवति

Ādaic should be there so that *saṃjñā* may be given to them, and through *saṃjñā* they are brought into existence. This is interdependence. Deeds which are interdependent are not accomplished. For instance ship attached to another ship is not able to come to its rescue (while sinking).

ननु च भोः, इतरेतराश्रयाण्यपि कार्याणि दृश्यन्ते, तद्यथा नौः शकटं वहति, शकटं च नावं वहति

Oh! we see even the interdependent deeds being accomplished. For instance ship carries cart and cart carries ship

अन्यदपि तत्र किंचिद्भवति जलं स्थलं वा। स्थले शकटं नावं वहति, जले नौः शकटं वहति

Another thing is there, water or land; cart carries ship on land and ship carries cart on water

यथा तर्हि त्रिविष्टब्धकम्

Such a holder (of books) made of three planks (may serve as an example.)

तत्रापि सूत्रकं भवति। इह पुनरितरेतराश्रयमेव

There too exists the string (which keeps them together). Here there is only interdependence.

सिद्धं तु नित्यशब्दत्वात्

Our object is gained on account of the *nityatva* of *śabda*

सिद्धमेतत्

Our object is gained.

कथम्? How?

नित्यशब्दत्वात्। नित्याः शब्दाः, नित्येषु शब्देषु सतामादैचां संज्ञा क्रियते, न संज्ञयादैचो भाव्यन्ते

(It is so) since *śabda* is *nitya*. *Śabdas* are *nitya*; when *śabdas* are *nitya*, *saṁjñā* is given to *ādaic* which already existed; their existence is not brought out by the *saṁjñā*

यदि तर्हि नित्याः शब्दाः किमर्थं शास्त्रम्?

If *śabdas* are *nitya*, what for is the *śāstra*?

किमर्थं शास्त्रमिति चेन्निवर्तकत्वात्सिद्धम्

If it is asked what for the *śāstra* is, its existence is established on account of its warding capacity.

निवर्तकं शास्त्रम्

Śāstra has the capacity to ward off.

कथम्? How?

मृजिरस्माविशेषेणोपदिष्टः, तस्य सर्वत्र मृजिबुद्धिः प्रसक्ता, तत्रानेन निवृत्तिः क्रियते मृजेरक्ङित्सु प्रत्ययेषु मृजिप्रसङ्गे मार्जिः साधुर्भवतीति

The root *mṛj* is read generally. Hence it is taken that it comes everywhere. Then this *sūtra* (*mṛjer vṛddhiḥ*) prohibits it. It says that, when it is followed by *pratyayas* which are neither *kit* nor *ṅit*, *mārj* is the correct form in the place of *mṛj*.

VII

* **वृद्धिगुणसंज्ञयोः प्रत्येकवचनम्** वृद्धिगुणसंज्ञयोः प्रत्येकमिति वक्तव्यम्

Need for the word *pratyeka* in the first two *sūtras*. The word *pratyeka* should be read in the first two *sūtras*.

प्रत्येकं वृद्धिगुणसंज्ञे भवत इति वक्तव्यम्

It should be said that the *saṃjñās*, *vṛddhi* and *guṇaḥ* apply to each (of *ādaic* and *adeṅ* respectively.)

* The Portions marked (*) [illegible] certain [illegible].

किं प्रयोजनम्?

What is the benefit?

समुदाये मा भूत् इति

[illegible]

अन्यत्र सहवचनात्समुदाये संज्ञाप्रसङ्गः

[illegible] for the *sam jñā* collectively.

[illegible] सह सुपा [illegible] अव्ययं सह [illegible]

[illegible]

प्रत्येकं च वाक्यपरिसमाप्तिः

[illegible] of the meaning of the sentence being seen individually.

[illegible] तद्यथा देवदत्तयज्ञदत्तविष्णुमित्रा भोज्य[illegible] च भुजि परिसमाप्यते

[illegible] देवदत्तयज्ञदत्तविष्णुमित्रा भोज्यन्ताम् the word प्रत्येकम् [illegible] The fruit of eating is seen individually.

ननु [illegible] समुदाये वाक्यपरिसमाप्तिः इति। तद्यथा गर्गाः शतं दण्ड्यन्ताम् इति [illegible] हिरण्येन भवन्ति, न च प्रत्येकं दण्डयन्ति

Oh! the other *[illegible]* also is found that the fruit of the action is found collectively [illegible] *Gargāḥ śatam daṇḍyantām* [illegible] kings want money and they [illegible] fine them individually

सति [illegible] इत्यन्ते यदि नत्र महग्रहणं क्रियते, इहापि प्रत्येक-मिति [illegible] अथ [illegible] । [illegible] महत्सु [illegible] कार्यं भवति इहापि नार्थः प्रत्येकमिति वचनेन

In the presence of this [illegible], the word [illegible] the word [illegible] should [illegible] read. If, without the [illegible] of the word [illegible] may take place [illegible] way, [illegible] it take [illegible] without the [illegible] of the word *pratyēkam*.

[illegible]

VIII

अथ किमर्थमाकारस्तपरः क्रियते ?

Now what for is आ provided with त्?

आकारस्य तपरकरणं सवर्णार्थम्

[illegible]

आकारस्य तपरकरणं क्रियते, किं प्रयोजनम् सवर्णार्थम् , तपरस्तत्कालस्य इति तत्कालानां सवर्णानां ग्रहणं यथा स्यात्

Ā is provided with *t*. What for? For the sake of [illegible]. So that it may denote *savarṇas* of the same quantity by the *sūtra* तपरस्तत्कालस्य.

केषाम्? For what (*svaras*)?

उदात्तानुदात्तस्वरितानाम्।

For *a* with *udātta, anudātta* and *svarita* accent.

किं च कारणं न स्यात्?

Why could they not be denoted?

भेदकत्वात्स्वरस्य, भेदका उदात्तादयः।

On account of the differentiating capacity of accent. *Udātta* etc. are differentiating elements.

कथं पुनर्ज्ञायते भेदका उदात्तादय इति?

How is it understood that *udātta* etc. are differentiating elements?

एवं हि दृश्यते लोके, य उदात्ते कर्तव्येऽनुदात्तं करोति खण्डिकोपाध्यायस्तस्मै चपेटां ददाति अन्यत्त्वं करोषीति।

For thus is seen in the world: him who mispronounces *anudātta* for *udātta*, the teacher of pupils who learn section by section of a work gives him a blow with open hand saying that you are mispronouncing.

अस्ति प्रयोजनमेतत् —

There is this benefit, but —

किं तर्हीति?

Then what is suggested by *but*?

भेदकत्वाद्गुणस्य

Bhedakatvād guṇasya

भेदकत्वाद्गुणस्येति वक्तव्यम्

It should be said *bhedakatvād guṇasya* (*i.e.*) *svarasya* in the previous *vārtika* should be replaced by *guṇasya*.

किं प्रयोजनम्?

What is the use?

आनुनासिक्यं नाम गुणः, तद्भिन्नस्यापि ग्रहणं यथा स्यात्

Nasalisation is a *guṇa*, so that it may apply to that differentiated by it.

किं च कारणं न स्यात्?

Why should it not refer?

भेदकत्वाद्गुणस्य—भेदका गुणाः

On account of the differentiating capacity of *guṇa*, *guṇas* are differentiating elements.

कथं पुनर्ज्ञायते भेदका गुणा इति?

How is it known that *guṇas* are *bhedakas*?

एवं हि दृश्यते लोके, एकोऽयमात्मा उदकं नाम, तस्य गुणभेदात् अन्यत्वं भवति, अन्यदिदं शीतम् अन्यदिदमुष्णम् इति

For this is seen in the world. The one object water becomes different with different qualities: this is cool and this is hot.

ननु च भोः, अभेदका अपि गुणा दृश्यन्ते, तद्यथा देवदत्तो मुण्ड्यपि जट्यपि शिख्यपि स्वामाख्यां न जहाति, तथा बालो युवा वृद्धो वत्सो दम्यो बलीवर्द इति

Oh! there are *guṇas* which do not sometimes differentiate. For instance as *Devadatta*, is not bereft of his name

whether his head is completely shaven, full of clotted hair or has tufts, so also an ox is not bereft of its name whether it is young, middle-aged, old, a calf or a tamed animal.

अथेह गुणेषु कथम् भेदका अभेदका इति । किं पुनरत्र न्याय्यम् ?

Here doubt has been raised with reference to *gunas* that they are *bhedaka* and *abhedaka*. What is right here?

अभेदका गुणा इत्येव न्याय्यम्

It is right to take that *gunas* are *abhedaka*.

कुत एतत् ? Why is it ?

यदयं अस्थिदधिसक्थ्यक्ष्णामनङुदात्तः इत्युदात्तग्रहणं करोति, तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्योऽभेदका गुणा इति । यदि हि भेदका गुणाः स्युः उदात्तमेवोच्चारयेत्

Since the *Acarya* mentions the word *udatta* in the *sutra asthi...*, he indicates that *gunas* are *abhedakas*. If *gunas* are *bhedakas*, he would have pronounced the words with *udatta* accent.

यदि तर्ह्यभेदका गुणाः [illegible] यदुच्यते [illegible] स्वरितान्तस्य प्राप्नोति

If then, *gunas* are *abhedakas*, that which is said for a word which has its last syllable *anudatta*, or its last syllable *svarita*, will be applied to a word which has its last syllable *svarita* or the last syllable *udatta*.

नैष दोषः । आश्रीयमाणो गुणो भेदको भवति, तद्यथा शुक्लमालभेत कृष्णमालभेत, तत्र यः शुक्ले आलब्धव्ये कृष्णमालभेत न हि तेन यथोक्तं कृतं भवति

There is no defect. The *guna* that is specifically mentioned along with the object serves as a differentiating element. For instance, when it is said 'Tie to the stake the white', 'Tie to the stake the black', if one ties the black when the white has to be tied, he has not done as is ordained.

असन्देहार्थस्तर्हि तकारः । ऐजित्युच्यमाने सन्देहः स्यात्, किमिमावैचावेव आहोस्वित् आकारोऽप्यत्र निर्दिश्यत इति

Takāra is then to avoid the doubt. If *aic* alone is read, there is the doubt, whether the *pratyāhāra aic* alone is referred to here or ā also.

सन्देहमात्रमेतद्भवति । सर्वसन्देहेषु चेदमुपतिष्ठते व्याख्यानतो विशेषप्रतिपत्तिर्न हि सन्देहादलक्षणम् इति । त्रयाणां ग्रहणमिति व्याख्यास्यामः । अन्यत्रापि ह्ययमेवंजातीयकेषु सन्देहेषु न कंचिद्यत्नं करोति, तद्यथा ओतोऽम्शसोः इति

There is this doubt alone. In all cases of doubt we take recourse to this that detailed knowledge arises from the commentary and hence doubt does not enable the *sūtra* to be neglected. We comment that *aic* refers to all the three. He has not made any attempt in similar cases of doubt (to remove the same), e.g. in *otoṁśasoḥ*.

इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम् * आन्तर्यतस्त्रिमात्रचतुर्मात्राणां स्थानिनां त्रिमात्रचतुर्मात्रा आदेशा मा भूवन् इति, खट्वा इन्द्रः खट्वेन्द्रः, खट्वा उदकं खट्वोदकम्, खट्वा ईषा खट्वेषा, खट्वा ऊढा खट्वोढा, खट्वा एलका खट्वैलका, खट्वा ओदनः खट्वौदनः, खट्वा ऐतिकायनः खट्वैतिकायनः, खट्वा औपगवः खट्वौपगवः इति

This is the benefit—*ādeśas* of three and four *mātrās* may not, by the principle of similarity, replace *sthānin* with three or four *mātrās* in the following —खट्वा इन्द्रः . . . खट्वौपगवः.

अथ क्रियमाणेऽपि तकारे कस्मादेव त्रिमात्रचतुर्मात्राणां स्थानिनां त्रिमात्रचतुर्मात्रा आदेशा न भवन्ति ?

Even when *takāra* is read, how cannot *ādeśas* of three and four *mātrās* replace *sthānin* with three and four *mātrās*?

* It should be understood that त is not for आ but for ऐच्

तपरस्तत्कालस्य इति नियमात्

By the *sūtra taparastatkālasya.*

ननु तः परः यस्मात्सोऽयं तपरः?

Is not *tapara* a *bahuvrīhi* compound?

नेत्याह, तादपि परः तपरः

No, says he, it is also a *tatpuruṣa* compound.

यदि तादपि परस्तपर ऋदोरप् इतीहैव स्यात् यवः स्तवः, लवः पवः इत्यत्र न स्यात्

If it is taken as a *tatpuruṣa* compound, the *sūtra* ऋदोरप् will operate only with respect to यवः and स्तवः and not with respect to लवः and पवः.

नैष तकारः

This is not *takāra.*

कस्तर्हि? What then?

दकारः *Dakāra.*

किं दकारे प्रयोजनम्?

What is the use in reading *dakāra*?

अथ किं तकारे? यद्यसंदेहार्थस्तकारः दकारोऽपि, अथ मुखसुखार्थस्तकारः दकारोऽपि

What is it in reading *takāra*? If it is to avoid the doubt, *dakāra* also serves the same purpose, if it is for euphony, *dakāra* also is for the same.

इको गुणवृद्धी.

Eight topics are dealt with in this *sūtra*—(1) the need for *ik* in this *sūtra* (2) the need for the *anuvṛtti* of the words *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* from the previous *sūtras* (3) whether this *sūtra* and *alontyasya* have the relationship of [illegible] (4) whether this *sūtra* and *alontyasya* are in the relationship of [illegible] (5) whether this *sūtra* and *alontyasya* are not at all connected with each other (6) wherever *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* is enjoined, the word *ikaḥ* appears there (7) what will be the harm if the word *vṛddhi* is not in this *sūtra*? (8) whether this *sūtra* is a [illegible] or a *paribhāṣā*.

1

इग्ग्रहणं किमर्थम्?

What is the need for the word इक् in this *sūtra*?

इग्ग्रहणं आत्सन्ध्यक्षरव्यञ्जननिवृत्त्यर्थम्

The use of इक् is to ward off *guṇa* to [illegible], diphthongs and consonants.

इग्ग्रहणं क्रियते किमर्थम्? आकारनिवृत्त्यर्थं सन्ध्यक्षरनिवृत्त्यर्थं व्यञ्जननिवृत्त्यर्थं च। आकारनिवृत्त्यर्थं तावत्, याता वाता, आकारस्य गुणः प्राप्नोति, इग्ग्रहणान्न भवति। सन्ध्यक्षरनिवृत्त्यर्थम्, ग्लायति म्लायति, सन्ध्यक्षरस्य गुणः प्राप्नोति, इग्ग्रहणान्न भवति। व्यञ्जननिवृत्त्यर्थम्, उम्भिता उम्भितुम् उम्भितव्यम्, व्यञ्जनस्य गुणः प्राप्नोति, इग्ग्रहणान्न भवति।

The word इक् is used. What for? To ward off *guṇa* (a) in the place of ā, diphthongs and consonants. First as regards the warding off ā from being *sthānin* of *guṇa*, *guṇa* may replace ā by the *sūtra* (*sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ*) while the words *yātā* and *vātā* are formed, it does not take place on account of the use of इक्. As regards diphthongs, *guṇa* (e) may replace ai while the words *glāyati* and *mlāyati* are formed; it does not take place on account of the

use of इक्. As regards consonants, *guṇa* (*a*) may replace consonants while the words *ambhakta*, *umbhitum*, and *umbhitavyam* are formed; it does not take place on account of the use of इक्.

आकारनिवृत्त्यर्थेन तावन्नार्थः । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति नाकारस्य गुणो भवतीति, यदयम् आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः इति ककारमनुबन्धं करोति

First it is not to ward off *guṇa* to *ā*. Ācārya's use suggests that *guṇa* does not replace *ā*, since he uses the *anubandha* '*k*' in the *sūtra*—*ātōnupasarge kaḥ*.

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम्?

In what manner should it be understood so that it may be taken as *jñāpaka*?

कित्करणे एतत्प्रयोजनम् किदित्याकारलोपो यथा स्यात्, यदि चाकारस्य गुणः स्यात् कित्करणमनर्थकं स्यात्, गुणे कृते द्वयोरकारयोः पररूपेण सिद्धं रूपं स्याद् गोदः कम्बलद इति, पश्यति तु आचार्यो नाकारस्य गुणो भवतीति, ततः ककारमनुबन्धं करोति

This is the benefit of *kitkaraṇa*, that *ā* may be elided by the *sūtra* किदति; if *guṇa* can replace *ā*, *kitkaraṇa* will be of no use, for, in the formation of the word *godaḥ*, *go-dā-a* will become *gō da a* if *guṇa* replaces *ā*, and then *go d a* if *pararūpa* comes (by the *sūtra* '*ato guṇe*'). So also is *kambaladaḥ*. But Ācārya sees with his mind's eye that *guṇa* does not replace *ā* and hence uses the *anubandha* '*k*'.

सन्ध्यक्षरनिवृत्त्यर्थेनापि नार्थः, उपदेशसामर्थ्यात् सन्ध्यक्षरस्य गुणो न भविष्यति

It is not also to ward off *guṇa* to diphthongs since *guṇa* cannot replace a diphthong on account of the significance of their being read separately

व्यञ्जननिवृत्त्यर्थेनापि नार्थः, आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति न व्यञ्जनस्य गुणो भवतीति यदयं जनेर्डं शास्ति ।

It is not also to ward off *guṇa* to consonants since the use of *ḍa* by *Ācārya* in the *sūtra* (*saptamyām*) *janer ḍaḥ* suggests that *guṇa* does not replace a consonant.

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकं ?

In what manner should it be understood so that it may be taken as *jñāpaka*?

डित्करणे एतत्प्रयोजनं, डिति टेः लोपो यथा स्यात् । यदि च व्यञ्जनस्य गुणः स्याद् डित्करणमनर्थकं स्यात्, गुणे कृते त्रयाणामकाराणां पररूपेण सिद्धं रूपं स्यात् उपसरजो मन्दुरज इति । पश्यति त्वाचार्यो न व्यञ्जनस्य गुणो भवतीति, ततो जनेर्डं शास्ति ।

The use of *ḍit-karaṇa* is that the last syllable may be dropped if it is followed by a *ḍit*. If consonant were to be replaced by *guṇa*, *ḍit-karaṇa* will be of no use; for after *guṇa* replaces the consonant, the forms *upasarajaḥ* and *mandurajaḥ** will be got by applying the *sūtra* dealing with *pararūpa* twice. But *Ācārya* sees with his mind's eye that *guṇa* does not replace a consonant and hence uses *ḍit* in the *sūtra* *saptamyāṃ janer ḍaḥ*.

नैतानि सन्ति ज्ञापकानि । यत्तावदुच्यते डित्करणं ज्ञापकं नाकारस्य गुणो भवतीति, उत्तरार्थमेतत्स्यात् तुन्दशोकयोः परिमृजापनुदोः इति ।

These are not *jñāpakas*. What was first put forth that *ḍit-karaṇa* in *jano'pasarge ḍaḥ* suggests that *guṇa* does

* *mandurajaḥ* [illegible]

not replace ī does not stand; for it is useful in the interpretation of the *sūtra* [illegible].*

यत्तर्हि गाणेरक् इत्यनन्यार्थं ककारमनुबध्नाति

If so, *kakāra* in the *sūtra* [illegible] serving no other purpose suggests it.

यदप्युच्यते उपदेशसामर्थ्यात् सन्ध्यक्षरस्य गुणो न भवतीति, यो हि सन्ध्यक्षरस्य प्राप्नोति तस्योपदेशसामर्थ्याद्बाध्यते, अवयवयोऽपि तर्हि न प्राप्नुवन्ति

The other point that was put forth that *guṇa* cannot replace a diphthong on account of the significance of their separate *upadeśa*, if accepted, will lead to this: whatever takes place to diphthongs, it will be warded off by the separate *upadeśa* and hence the [illegible] cannot function.

नैष दोषः, य विधि प्रत्युपदेशोऽनर्थकः स विधिर्बाध्यते, यस्य तु विधेर्निमित्तमेव नासौ बाध्यते, गुणं च प्रत्युपदेशोऽनर्थकः आयादीन् पुनर्निमित्तमेव

This objection cannot stand, for the *vidhi* in respect of which *upadeśa* is of no use is warded off and that in respect of which it is only *nimitta*, it is not warded off; in respect of *guṇa*, it is of no use and in respect of *āyādi*, it is only *nimitta*.

यदप्युच्यते जनेर्डवचनं ज्ञापकं न व्यञ्जनस्य गुणो भवतीति, सिद्धं विधिना क्रियमाणो ज्ञापकार्थो भवति. न च जनेर्गुणेन सिध्यति। कृतेऽपि तेन जनेर्गुण इज्यमानोऽकारो भवति न पुनरेकारो वा स्यादोकारो वेति।

The third point that *ḍit* in *janer ḍaḥ* suggests that *guṇa* does not replace consonant does not stand, for a *vidhi*, only

* *Kakāra* is used to prevent *guṇa* in the words [illegible] and [illegible]

when it is proved to be of no use, is taken to be *jñāpaka* and the desired form is not obtained by replacing *n* in *jan* by *guṇa*. How is it that, when it is taken that *guṇa* replaces *n* in *jan*, it should be only *a* and not *e* or *o*?

आन्तर्यतोऽर्धमात्रिकस्य व्यञ्जनस्य मात्रिकोऽकारो भविष्यति

By closer similarity the consonant having half a *mātrā* is replaced by *a* which has one *mātrā*.

एवमप्यनुनासिकः प्राप्नोति

If so, the nasalised *a* may come.

पररूपेण शुद्धो भविष्यति

It becomes non-nasalised by *pararūpa* (since the *a* that follows it is a non-nasalised *a*).

एवं तर्हि गमेरप्ययं [illegible] वक्तव्यः, गमेश्च गुण उच्यमान आन्तर्यत ओकारः प्राप्नोति । तस्मादिग्ग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्

If so, this *ik* should be read for *gam* also,[1] for if it is said that *guṇa* replaces *m* in *gam*, *o* will replace it by closer similarity[2]. Hence *ik* should be read in this *sūtra*.

From the foregoing part it may be clear that, according to the *pūrvapakṣa*, *ikaḥ* need not be read here and so the two *sūtras* *ikō guṇavṛddhī* and *na dhātulopa ārdhadhātuke* may be read together. The *Siddhānta* says that the word *ikaḥ* is needed here to prevent *o* replacing *m* in *gam* and hence *ikō guṇavṛddhī* should be read as a separate *sūtra*.

[1] After the *sūtra* [illegible] (III. 2. [illegible]) [illegible] (III. 2. [illegible]) [illegible] the root *gam* is taken under the word *anya*, this answer holds good.

[2] Similarity referred to here is that both are *oṣṭhyas*.

II

यदि इग्ग्रहणं क्रियते द्यौः, पन्थाः, सः, इमम् इत्येतेऽपि इकः प्राप्नुवन्ति

If the word इक् is read in the *sūtra*, *div* etc., (enjoined in the *sūtras* दिव औत्, पथिमथ्यृभुक्षामात्, त्यदादीनामः) to form the words द्यौः, पन्थाः, सः, इमम् will replace only इक्.*

संज्ञया विधाने नियमः

Restriction on the injunction with the *saṃjñā*.

संज्ञया ये विधीयन्ते तेषु नियमः

Only those which are enjoined with the appellation *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* come under this *sūtra*.

किं वक्तव्यमेतत्?

Is there any need for this to be said?

न हि

No, certainly not.

कथमनुच्यमानं गंस्यते?

How can it be understood if it is not so said?

गुणवृद्धिग्रहणसामर्थ्यात्

On account of the significance of having read *guṇavṛddhi* in this *sūtra*.

कथं पुनरन्तरेण गुणवृद्धिग्रहणम् इको गुणवृद्धी स्याताम्?

How then can *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* replace इक् if the expression *guṇavṛddhī* is not read here?

* Since ā, au and a are either *vṛddhi* or *guṇa* letters, the *pūrvapakṣa* arose.

प्रकृतं गुणवृद्धिग्रहणमनुवर्तते

The expression *guṇavṛddhi* mentioned before is supplied here.

क्व प्रकृतम् ?*

Where is it mentioned before?

वृद्धिरादैजदेङ्गुण इति

In the *sūtras vṛddhirādaic* and *adeṅ guṇaḥ*.

यदि तदनुवर्तते अदेङ्गुणो वृद्धिश्च इत्यदेङां वृद्धिसंज्ञापि प्राप्नोति

If it (*vṛddhi*) follows from the first *sūtra*, the second *sūtra* will have to be read as **अदेङ्गुणो वृद्धिश्च** so that *a, e* and *o* will get the appellation *vṛddhi* also.†

सम्बन्धमनुवर्तिष्यते । वृद्धिरादैच् , अदेङ्गुणः वृद्धिरादैच् , ततः इको गुणवृद्धी इति , गुणवृद्धिग्रहणमनुवर्तते , आदैजदेङ्ग्रहणं निवृत्तम्

Connected element‡ follows thus: *vṛddhirādaic*, *adeṅ guṇaḥ vṛddhirādaic*, *iko guṇavṛddhī*. Then the expression *guṇavṛddhi* is supplied and the expression *ādaijadeṅ* is made to recede.

अथवा मण्डूकगतयोऽधिकाराः , यथा मण्डूका उत्प्लुत्योत्प्लुत्य गच्छन्ति , तद्वदधिकाराः

Or *anuvṛttis* are like frog-leap. As frogs skip over intervening things, so are *adhikāras*.§

* The objection raised here is that as *vṛddhi* and *guṇa* have been already mentioned once, the compound *guṇavṛddhi* [illegible]

† This statement is based on the assumption that the word in the first *sūtra* cannot be supplied in the third unless it is taken to follow in the second.

‡ *vṛddhi* connected with its *saṃjñin* is taken to follow.

§ This suggests that the word *vṛddhi* may be made to follow into the third *sūtra* without passing through the second.

अथवा एकयोगः करिष्यते वृद्धिरादैजदेङ्गुणः, ततः इको गुणवृद्धी इति, न चैकयोगेऽनुवृत्तिर्भवति

Or the first two *sūtras* are made into one as *vṛddhir ād aic adeṅ guṇaḥ*. Then is read *iko guṇavṛddhī*. There is no *anuvṛtti* within one and the same *sūtra*.

अथवा अन्यवचनात् चकाराकरणाच्च प्रकृतापवादो विज्ञायते, यथोत्सर्गेण प्रसक्तस्यापवादो बाधको भवति

Or on account of giving another *saṃjñā* and the absence of *ca*, it is understood to be an exception to what has been said before, in the same way as a special rule prevents the application of a general rule.

अन्यस्याः संज्ञायाः वचनात् चकारस्य चानुकर्षणार्थस्य अकरणात् प्रकृतायाः वृद्धिसंज्ञायाः गुणसंज्ञा बाधिका भविष्यति, यथोत्सर्गेण प्रसक्तस्यापवादो बाधको भवति *

Since another appellation is given, and since the word *ca* which denotes grammatical attraction is not read, *guṇa saṃjñā* sets aside the *vṛddhi saṃjñā* mentioned first, in the same way as a special rule sets aside what will, otherwise, be taken by the general rule.

अथवा वक्ष्यत्येतत् अनुवर्तन्ते च नाम विधयः, न चानुवर्तनादेव भवन्ति । किं तर्हि? † यत्नाद्भवन्तीति

Or he is going to say this that, though rules have the capacity to be supplied later on, they do not do so only on account of it. By what then? By the effort.

* T[illegible] *bhāṣya* to the pr[illegible]

† [illegible] अकृतस्यान्यविषयपुनर्गुणवृद्धिग्रहणं यत्र [illegible]

अथवा उभयं निवृत्तम्, तदपेक्षिष्यामहे

Or both* are not taken by *anuvṛtti*, but we take them by ***adhyāhāra***.

It may be noted here that the *anuvṛtti* of the words *vṛddhi* and *guṇa* is dealt with in seven ways. First the word *vṛddhi* is taken to the third *sūtra* through the second. The objection raised thereon was that *a*, *ai* & *au* will get the appellation of *vṛddhi* also. (2) It was met by the statement that the word *vṛddhi* alone is not taken to the second, but *vṛddhi* attached to *ādaic*. The defect here is how *ādaic* alone was made to [illegible]. (3) Then the principle of 'Frog-leap' was applied. Recourse is taken to it only in cases where there is no [illegible]. (4) Then he wants to take the [illegible] one and [illegible] as one. It was [illegible] on the [illegible] that there will be no [illegible] in one and the same *sūtra*. But sometimes it is seen that there is *anuvṛtti* even in one and the same *sūtra*. (5) Hence he takes recourse to the point that the appellation [illegible] serves as an *upapada* to the appellation *vṛddhi* [illegible]. The defect here is this. The *uddeśya* in the [illegible] is that which is otherwise qualified to be the *uddeśya* in the [illegible] *sūtra*. Here the *uddeśya* of the [illegible] is [illegible] and that of the *upapada* is [illegible]. (6) Then he says that [illegible] and not *anuvṛtti* alone serves the purpose. Here the defect is [illegible] the expression *guṇa vṛddhi* in the third *sūtra* suggests that the expression supplied from the previous two *sūtras* is [illegible] and that suggests that this is [illegible]. (7) Hence the author takes recourse to the practice found in the world that we take in only those that we want.

* Both refers to *guṇa* and *vṛddhi*

III & IV

किं पुनरयमलोऽन्त्यशेषः, आहोस्विदलोऽन्त्यापवादः ?

Is this *sūtra* *Alontyaśeṣa* or *Alontyāpavāda* (i.e.) Do this *sūtra* and the *sūtra* *Alo'ntyasya* form a whole sentence, one serving as part of another or are they antagonistic to each other?*

कथं चायं तच्छेषः स्यात्, कथं वा तदपवादः ?

How is this *sūtra taccheṣa** or how is it *tadapavāda*?

यद्येकं वाक्यं—तच्चेदं च, अलोऽन्त्यस्य विधयो भवन्ति, इको गुणवृद्धी अलोऽन्त्यस्य इति—ततोऽयं तच्छेषः। अथ नाना वाक्यं—तच्चेदं च, अलोऽन्त्यस्य विधयो भवन्ति, इको गुणवृद्धी अन्त्यस्य चानन्त्यस्य च इति—ततोऽयं तदपवादः।

If they are one sentence—*vṛddhis* happen to the final *al* and the *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* happen to the *ik* which is the final *al*—this *sūtra* is *taccheṣa*. If they are different sentences—*vṛddhis* happen to the final *al* and *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* happen to *ik* which is both final and non-final, it is *tadapavāda*.

कश्चात्र विशेषः ?

What is the difference here?

वृद्धिगुणावलोऽन्त्यस्येति चेन्मिदिमृजिपुगन्तलघूपधर्च्छिदृशिक्षिप्रक्षुद्रेष्विग्ग्रहणम्

If *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* are taken to happen to the final *al*, the word *ik* has to be read where *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* is enjoined to *mid*, *mṛj*, *pugantalaghūpadha*, *ṛcch*, *dṛś*, *kṣipra* and *kṣudra*.

* In the interpretation of the *sūtra* [illegible] *Vṛddhirādaic* [illegible] *saṃjñā* and *saṃjñin*. Since the former is [illegible] on the scene. By the mention of the latter [illegible] appears on the scene. Hence arises this doubt.

* The [illegible] may be taken [illegible] [illegible]

वृद्धिगुणावलोऽन्त्यस्येति चेन्मिदिमृजिपुगन्तलघूपधर्च्छिदृशिक्षिप्रक्षुद्रेष्विग्ग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्। **मिदेर्गुणः**, इक इति वक्तव्यम्, अनन्त्यत्वाद्धि न प्राप्नोति, **मृजेर्वृद्धिः**, इक इति वक्तव्यम्, अनन्त्यत्वाद्धि न प्राप्नोति; **पुगन्तलघूपधस्य** गुणः, इक इति वक्तव्यम्, अनन्त्यत्वाद्धि न प्राप्नोति, ऋच्छेर्लिटि गुणः, इक इति वक्तव्यम्, अनन्त्यत्वाद्धि न प्राप्नोति **ऋदृशोऽङि** गुणः, इक इति वक्तव्यम्, अनन्त्यत्वाद्धि न प्राप्नोति; क्षिप्रक्षुद्रयोर्गुणः, इक इति वक्तव्यम्, अनन्त्यत्वाद्धि न प्राप्नोति

If it is taken that *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* happen only to the final *al*, the word *ikaḥ* has to be read where *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* is enjoined to *mid*, *mṛj*, *pugantalaghūpadha*, *ṛcch*, *dṛś*, *kṣipra* and *kṣudra*; *mider guṇaḥ*, *ikaḥ* should be added, for *i* cannot be replaced by *guṇa* since it is not final, *mṛjer vṛddhiḥ*, *ikaḥ* should be added, for *ṛ* cannot be replaced by *vṛddhi* since it is not final, *pugantalaghūpadhasya guṇaḥ*, *ikaḥ* should be added, for it cannot be replaced by *guṇa* since it is not final, *ṛccher liṭi guṇaḥ*, *ikaḥ* should be added, for *ṛ* cannot be replaced by *guṇa* since it is not final, *ṛdṛśo'ṅi guṇaḥ*, *ikaḥ* should be added, for *ṛ* cannot be replaced by *guṇa* since it is not final, *kṣiprakṣudrayor guṇaḥ*, *ikaḥ* should be added, for *i* or *u* cannot be replaced by *guṇa* since it is not final

सर्वादेशप्रसङ्गश्चानिगन्तस्य

Possibility of *sarvādeśa* to the *aṅgas* which do not end in *ik*

सर्वादेशश्च गुणोऽनिगन्तस्य प्राप्नोति, याता वाता

Guṇa will replace the whole if the *aṅga* does not end in *ik* as in *yātā*, *vātā*.

किं कारणम्? Why?

अलोऽन्त्यस्य इति षष्ठी चैव ह्यन्यामिकनुपसङ्क्रान्ता, अङ्गस्येति च स्थानषष्ठी तद्यदिदानीमनिगन्तमङ्गं तस्य गुणः सर्वादेशः प्राप्नोति

The genitive mentioned in *alo'ntyasya* goes with the final *ik*. The genitive in *aṅgasya* is *sthānaṣaṣṭhī*. Hence if *guṇa* is enjoined to an *aṅga* which does not end in *ik*, it should replace the whole of it.

नैष दोषः, यथैव अलोऽन्त्यस्येति षष्ठी अन्त्यमिकमुपसंक्रान्ता एवमङ्गस्येत्यपि स्थानषष्ठी, तदिदानीमनिगन्तमङ्गं तत्र षष्ठ्येव नास्ति, कुतो गुणः कुतः सर्वादेशः?

The objection does not stand; just as the genitive mentioned in *alontyasya* goes with the final *ik*, so also is *sthānaṣaṣṭhī* in *aṅgasya*; for there is no genitive in the *aṅga* which does not end in *ik*. Hence where is the possibility of *guṇa* or *sarvādeśa*?

एवं तर्हि नायं दोषसमुच्चयः

If so, they are not two coordinate defects.

किं तर्हि? What then?

पूर्वशेषोऽयं दोषः, अर्थे चायं चः पठितः, मिदिमृजिपुगन्तलघूपधर्च्छि-दृशिक्षिप्रक्षुद्रेष्विग्ग्रहणं सर्वादेशप्रसङ्गो ऽनिगन्तस्येति

The second is subordinate to the first; the word *ca* is read in the sense of *hi*. *Ik* should be read in the sūtras *mider guṇaḥ* etc.; for the *aṅga* which does not end in *ik* will be wholly replaced by *ādeśa*.

मिदेर्गुणः, इक इति वचनादन्त्यस्य न, अलोऽन्त्यस्य इति वचनादिको न, उच्यते च गुणः, स सर्वादेशः प्राप्नोति, एवं सर्वत्र

The *sūtra*, '*mider guṇaḥ*' by the *sūtra* '*iko guṇavṛddhī*' *guṇa* does not replace the final; by the *sūtra* '*alontyasya*', it does not replace *ik*. But *guṇa* is enjoined and hence it should be a *sarvādeśa*. So also elsewhere.

अस्तु तर्हि तदपवाद्

If so, let it be *tadapavāda*.

इग्लक्षणाविति चेज्जुसिसार्वधातुकार्धधातुकह्रस्वाद्योर्गुणेष्वनन्त्यप्रतिषेधः

It [illegible] is for all [illegible], prohibition of [illegible] to the [illegible] that is not [illegible] enjoined by the [illegible] *sārvadhātuka ārdhadhātuka-hrasvasya guṇaḥ'* etc.

इग्लक्षणाविति चेज्जुसिसार्वधातुकार्धधातुकह्रस्वाद्योर्गुणेष्वनन्त्यप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । **जुसि गुणः**, स यथेह भवति अजुहवुः अबिभयुः इति, एवम् अनेनिजुः पर्यवेविषुः इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति **सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोर्गुणः** स यथेह भवति कर्ता हर्ता नयति तरति इति, एवम् ईहिता ईहितुम् ईहितव्यम् इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति **ह्रस्वस्य गुणः**, स यथेह भवति हे अग्ने हे वायो इति, एवं हे अग्निचित् हे सोमसुत् इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति **जसि गुणः**, स यथेह भवति अग्नयः वायवः इति, एवम् अग्निचितः सोमसुतः इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति **ऋतो ङिसर्वनामस्थानयोर्गुणः**, स यथेह भवति कर्तरि कर्तारौ कर्तारः इति, एवं सुकृति सुकृतौ सुकृतः इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति **घेर्ङिति गुणः**, स यथेह भवति अग्नये वायवे इति, एवम् अग्निचिते सोमसुते इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति **ओर्गुणः**, स यथेह भवति बाभ्रव्यः माण्डव्यः इति, एवं सुश्रुत् सौश्रुतः इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति

As [illegible] occurs [illegible] etc. by the application [illegible] so also will it occur in [illegible] etc. As [illegible] occurs in *kartā, hartā,* [illegible] and [illegible] by the application of the *sūtra* [illegible] so [illegible] will [illegible] and [illegible]. As [illegible] occurs in [illegible] by the application of the [illegible] so also will it occur in the [illegible] etc. As [illegible] occurs in [illegible] by the application of the *sūtra* [illegible], so also will it occur in [illegible] etc. As [illegible] occurs in [illegible] etc. by the application of [illegible]

in [illegible] *guṇa*, so also will it occur in *sukṛtaḥ*, *sukṛtīn* and *sukṛtya*. As *guṇa* occurs in *bābhravyaḥ*, *māṇḍavyaḥ* etc., so also will it occur in *sauśrutaḥ* derived from *suśrut*.

नैष दोषः

This objection cannot stand.

पुगन्तलघूपधग्रहणमनन्त्यनियमार्थम्

The expression *pugantalaghūpadha* is to restrict the cases of *ik* which are not final.

पुगन्तलघूपधग्रहणमनन्त्यनियमार्थं भविष्यति पुगन्तलघूपधस्यैवानन्त्यस्य नान्यस्यानन्त्यस्येति

The expression *pugantalaghūpadha* is to restrict their application to *ik* which is not final (i. e.) to restrict it only to such *anantya iks* as are *pugantalaghūpadha*.

प्रकृतस्यैव नियमः स्यात् *

The *niyama* will be only to that already mentioned.

किं च प्रकृतम् ?

What is it that has been already mentioned ?

सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोरिति । तेन सर्वत्रेह नियमात् स्याद् ईहिता ईहितुं ईहितव्यम् इति, ह्रस्वादेर्गुणस्त्वनियतः सोऽनन्त्यस्यापि प्राप्नोति

The *sūtra* '*sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ*'. Therefore prohibition of *guṇa* will occur by the *niyama* in the cases of *īhitā*, *īhitum* and *īhitavyam*, but not in the cases which come under the operation of the *sūtras* like *hrasvasya guṇaḥ*; and hence the *guṇa* will occur there to *ik* which is not final also.

* प्रकृतस्यैव नियमः स्यात् [illegible] other reading.

अथाप्येवं नियमः स्यात् पुगन्तलघूपधस्य सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोरेवेति एवमपि सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोर्गुणोऽनियतः सोऽन्यस्यापि प्राप्नोति ईहिता, ईहितुम्, ईहितव्यम् इति

If the *niyama* is taken in this form that *guṇa* will occur to *pugantalaghūpadha* only when *sārvadhātuka* and *ārdhadhātuka* follow, the *guṇa* enjoined by the *sūtra* '*sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ*' will become unrestricted, so that it will occur to [illegible] in *īhitā*, *īhitum* and *īhitavyam*.

अथाप्युभयतो नियमः स्यात् पुगन्तलघूपधस्यैव सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोः सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोरेव पुगन्तलघूपधस्य इति, एवमप्ययं जुसि गुणः अनियतः, सोऽन्यस्यापि प्राप्नोति अनेनिजुः पर्यवेविषुः इति

If the *niyama* is done both ways *pugantalaghūpadhasyaiva sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ* and *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayor eva pugantalaghūpadhasya*, even then the *guṇa* enjoined by *jusi guṇaḥ* becomes *aniyata* so that *guṇa* will occur in *anenijuḥ paryaveviṣuḥ* etc.

एवं तर्हि नायं तच्छेषो नापि तद्बाधः । अन्यदेवेदं परिभाषान्तरमसम्बद्धमनया परिभाषया

If so, this is neither *tacchesa* nor *tadbādhaka*, but a different *paribhāṣā* not at all connected with it (*asambaddha*.)

V

परिभाषान्तरमिति च मत्वा क्रोष्टीयाः पठन्ति * नियमादिको गुणवृद्धी भवतो † विप्रतिषेधेन इति

* [illegible] is the name given to the *sūtra* of *niyama* by the previous grammarians.

† It is worth while to note there is another reading भवति.

28

Thinking that it is another *paribhāṣā*, *krōṣṭrīyas* read that the *sūtra* '*iko guṇavṛddhī*' operates against *alontyasya* by *pūrvavipratiṣedha* *

यदि चायं तच्छेषः स्यात्, तेनैव तस्यायुक्तो विप्रतिषेधः. अथापि तदपवादः, उत्सर्गापवादयोरप्ययुक्तो विप्रतिषेधः। तत्र नियमस्यावकाशः राज्ञः क च राजकीयम्, इको गुणवृद्धी इत्यस्यावकाशः चयनं चायकः लवनं लावकः इति। इहोभयं प्राप्नोति मेद्यति मार्ष्टि इति, इको गुणवृद्धी इत्येतद्भवति विप्रतिषेधेन

If it is *taccheṣa*, there is no occasion for *vipratiṣedha*, or if it is *tadapavāda*, then too there is no occasion for *vipratiṣedha* between general rules and exceptions. Of them *alontyaniyama* operates when the word *rājakīyam* is formed by the *sūtra* '*rājñaḥ ka ca*' and *iko guṇavṛddhi* operates when the words *cayanam*, *cāyakaḥ*, *lavanam*, *lāvakaḥ* etc. are formed, while the words *medyati* and *mārṣṭi* are formed, both begin to operate, but *iko guṇavṛddhi* operates prohibiting the latter.

नैष युक्तो विप्रतिषेधः, विप्रतिषेधे परम् इत्युच्यते, पूर्वश्चायं योगः, परो नियमः

This *vipratiṣedha* is not proper; for it is said that, in conflict between two rules, the latter prohibits the former and this *sūtra* is the former and *alontyasya* is the latter.

इष्टवाची परशब्दः, विप्रतिषेधे परं यदिष्टं तद्भवति इति

The word *para* means the *needed one*. In conflict, that which is needed operates.

एवमप्ययुक्तो विप्रतिषेधः, द्विकार्ययोगो हि विप्रतिषेधः, न चात्रैको द्विकार्ययुक्तः।

* It means the conflict between two *sūtras* where the former prohibits the latter.

Even then the *vipratiṣedha* is not proper, for there is occasion for *vipratiṣedha* only if one thing is to be operated upon by two *sūtras* and here there is none which is to be operated by two.

नावश्यं द्विकार्ययोग एव विप्रतिषेधः

Vipratiṣedha does not invariably occur when one thing is to be operated by two.

किं तर्हि ? What then ?

असम्भवोऽपि ; स चास्त्यत्रासंभवः

Non-happening too, that is *asambhava*, is found here.

कोऽसावसम्भवः ?

What is that *asambhava* ?

इह तावद् वृक्षेभ्यः प्लक्षेभ्यः इति एकः स्थानी द्वावादेशौ, न चास्ति सम्भवो यदेकस्य स्थानिनो द्वावादेशौ स्याताम्, इहेदानीं चेता स्तोता नेता इति द्वौ स्थानिनावेक आदेशः, न चास्ति सम्भवो यद् द्वयोः स्थानिनोरेक आदेशः स्यादिति, एष असम्भवः, सत्यसम्भवे युक्तो विप्रतिषेधः.

At first in the examples *vṛkṣebhyaḥ*, *plakṣebhyaḥ* there is one *sthānin* and two *ādeśas* and it cannot be that one *sthānin* has two *ādeśas*. On the other hand, in the examples *cetā*, *stotā*, *netā* there are two *sthānins* and one *ādeśa* and it cannot be that two *sthānins* can have one *ādeśa*; this is *asambhava* and when there is this *asambhava*, *vipratiṣedha* can fit in.

एवमप्ययुक्तो विप्रतिषेधः, द्वयोर्हि सावकाशयोः समवस्थितयोर्विप्रतिषेधो भवति, अनवकाशश्चायं योगः

Even then *vipratiṣedha* cannot fit in; for there is opportunity for *vipratiṣedha* only when the two *sūtras* have room to operate elsewhere, and this *sūtra* has nowhere else to operate.

ननु चेदानीमेवास्यावकाशः प्रकॢप्तः चयनं चायकः लवनं लावक इति ।

Is it not then that its operation is settled in the cases of *cayanam*, *cāyakaḥ*, *lavanam*, and *lāvakaḥ* etc.?

अत्रापि नियमः प्राप्नोति

Even here *aloantyasya* begins to operate.

नाप्राप्ते नियमेऽयं योग आरभ्यते

This *sūtra* is read when *aloantyasya* invariably begins to operate.

यावता चानाप्राप्ते नियमेऽयं योग आरभ्यते, तस्मादपवादोऽयं योगो भवति । उत्सर्गापवादयोश्चायुक्तो विप्रतिषेधः

If, then, this *sūtra* is read when *aloantyasya* begins to operate, this becomes its *apavāda* and there is no *vipratiṣedha* between *utsarga* and *apavāda*.

अथापि कथंचिदिकौ गुणवृद्धी इत्यस्यावकाशः स्यात्, एवमपि यथेह विप्रतिषेधादिको गुणो भवति मेद्यति मेद्यतः मेद्यन्ति इति, एवमिहापि स्यात् अनेनिजुः पर्यवेविषुः इति

Even if, with difficulty, room is found for the *guṇa vṛddhi* to operate, *guṇa* will occur by *vipratiṣedha* in *anenijuḥ*, *paryavevisuḥ* in the same way as it occurs in *mēdyati*, *medyataḥ*, *mēdyanti* etc.

VI

एवं तर्हि वृद्धिर्भवति गुणो भवति इति यत्र ब्रूयात् इक इत्येतत्तत्रोपस्थितं द्रष्टव्यम्

If so, whenever it is said that *vṛddhi* occurs, and *guṇa* occurs, one should understand that the word *ikaḥ* presents itself.

किं कृतं भवति?

What happens then?

द्वितीया षष्ठी प्रादुर्भाव्यते तत्र कामचारः गृह्यमाणेन वेकं विशेषयितुम् इका वा गृह्यमाणम्। यावता कामचारः, इह तावन्मिदिमृजिपुगन्तलघूपधर्च्छिदृशिक्षिप्रक्षुद्रेषु गृह्यमाणेनेकं विशेषयिष्यामः एतेषां य इक् इति; इहेदानीं जुसि सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकह्रस्वाद्यन्तगुणेष्विका गृह्यमाणं विशेषयिष्यामः, एतेषां गुणो भवति इकः इगन्तानाम् इति

Another word in the genitive case appears. It is our pleasure to take it as an adjunct to the already existing word in the genitive case or to take the latter qualifying *ikaḥ*. Since it is our pleasure, we take the word in the genitive case to qualify *ikaḥ* in the case of *midimṛjipugantalaghūpadharcchidṛśikṣiprakṣudra*, and in the case of *jusi-sārvadhātukārdhadhātukahrasvādi* we allow the word, to be qualified by *ikaḥ*: *guṇa* replaces those which are *igantas*.

Having dealt with the six topics, *Mahābhāṣyakāra* tries in a way to meet the objections raised in the *taccheṣapakṣa*.

अथवा सर्वत्रैवात्र स्थानी निर्दिश्यते। इह तावन्मिदेर्गुण इत्यविभक्तिको निर्देशः—मिद् एः मिदेरिति; अथवा षष्ठीसमासो भविष्यति—मिद इः मिदिः मिदेरिति। पुगन्तलघूपधस्येति, नैवं विज्ञायते पुगन्तस्याङ्गस्य लघूपधस्य चेति। कथं तर्हि? पुकि अन्तः पुगन्तः, लघ्वी उपधा लघूपधा, पुगन्तश्च लघूपधा च

पुगन्तलघूपध पुगन्तलघूपधस्येति । अवश्य चैतदेवं विज्ञेयम् अङ्गसंज्ञायां सतीह प्रसज्येत भिनत्ति छिनत्ति इति । [illegible] अपि प्रक्लिष्टनिर्देशोऽयम् [illegible] ऋ ऋ ऋतःनाम् [illegible] इत्यपि योगविभागः करिष्यते उगन्ते गुणः [illegible] अङ्गि गुणो भवति, ततो इकः इकोऽश्च अङ्गि गुणो भवति, [illegible] यणादिपरं गुणः इत्येतन्न सिद्धम् । सोऽयमेवं सिद्धे सति यत्पूर्वग्रहणं करोति तस्यैतत्प्रयोजनम् इको यथा स्यादनिको मा भूदिति

Or in all these places *sthāne* is mentioned. First in the [illegible] read the word [illegible] is made up of two words [illegible] where [illegible] is in the genitive case without the case suffix, or it is the genitive of [illegible] which is a [illegible]. The *sūtra pugantalaghūpadhasya* is not interpreted as [illegible]. How then is it taken as the genitive of *pugantalaghūpadhasya* [illegible] compound made up of [illegible] and [illegible] which are respectively split as [illegible] and [illegible]. This needs be said, for, otherwise [illegible] will appear [illegible] and [illegible]. In the *sūtra* [illegible] is separately mentioned so that it may be split as [illegible]. As regards [illegible] it is split into two words [illegible] and [illegible] so that [illegible] replaces [illegible] when it is followed by [illegible] and [illegible] replaces [illegible] of [illegible] when it is followed by [illegible]. With respect to [illegible], though the desired object is won by reading the word [illegible] after the word [illegible] in the *sūtra* [illegible], he reads the word [illegible], it has this purpose that [illegible] replaces [illegible] and does not replace [illegible]. Hence it must be noted that nothing has been said about [illegible] and the *sūtra* [illegible] is split in a different order. Hence this [illegible] is intended only to serve as a supplementary discussion to try whether [illegible] can stand.

VII

अथ वृद्धिग्रहणं किमर्थम्?

What is the need of the word *vṛddhi* in the *sūtra*?

किं विशेषेण वृद्धिग्रहणं चोद्यते न पुनर्गुणग्रहणमपि? यदि किंचिद् गुणग्रहणस्य प्रयोजनमस्ति वृद्धिग्रहणस्यापि तद्भवितुमर्हति । को वा विशेषः?

Why is the mention of the word *vṛddhi* particularly objected and not that of *guṇa*? If there is any use in the mention of *guṇa*, the same holds good for *vṛddhi*. What is the speciality here?

अयमस्ति विशेषः — गुणविधौ न क्वचित् स्थानी निर्दिश्यते, तत्रावश्यं स्थानिनिर्देशार्थं गुणग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्; वृद्धिविधौ पुनः सर्वत्र स्थानी निर्दिश्यते अचो ञ्णिति, अत उपधायाः, तद्धितेष्वचामादेः इति

There is this speciality that nowhere is *sthānin* mentioned in *sūtras* where *guṇa* is enjoined and hence there is the need for the mention of the word *guṇa* to determine the *sthānin* and that, on the other hand, everywhere is *sthānin* mentioned in *sūtras* where *vṛddhi* is enjoined viz. *aco ñṇiti*, *ata upadhāyāḥ*, *taddhiteṣvacām ādeḥ*.

अत उत्तरं पठति

Hence he gives the reply.

वृद्धिग्रहणमुत्तरार्थम्

The use of *vṛddhi* is for what follows.

वृद्धिग्रहणम् क्रियते, किमर्थम्?

The word *vṛddhi* is used. What for?

उत्तरार्थम् *

For what follows.

क्ङिति प्रतिषेधं वक्ष्यति स वृद्धेरपि यथा स्यात्

So that the prohibition which he is going to enjoin when the following *pratyaya* is *kit* or *ṅit* may apply to *vṛddhi* also.

कश्चेदानीं क्ङितोर्वृद्धेः प्रसङ्गः, यावता ञ्णितीत्युच्यते ?

Where is the possibility for *vṛddhi* to appear when the *kit* and *ṅit pratyayas* follow, since it appears only when the *ñit* and *ṇit pratyayas* follow ?

† तत् मृज्यर्थम्

That too is for the sake of *mṛj*.

मृजेर्वृद्धिरविशेषेणोच्यते सा क्ङिति मा भूत् मृष्टः मृष्टवान् इति

Vṛddhi that is generally enjoined to *mṛj* may not take place when it is followed by *kit pratyaya* and *ṅit pratyaya* as in the case of the words *mṛṣṭaḥ* and *mṛṣṭavān*.

‡ इहार्थं चापि   For here also.

इहार्थं चापि मृज्यर्थं वृद्धिग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । मृजेर्वृद्धिरविशेषेणोच्यते, सा इको यथा स्यात् अनिको § मा भूत् इति

The word *vṛddhi* should be read for the sake of this *sūtra* also to enable the formation of words from *mṛj*, so that the *vṛddhi* that is enjoined to *mṛj* as a whole without specifying the part to be replaced by it, may replace *ik* and not an *anik*.

* Here *uttara* refers to the *sūtra* '*kṅiti ca*'.

† *Tat* refers to the previous *vārttika*.

‡ *iha* refers to the *sūtra* '*iko guṇavṛddhī*'.

§ *anik* refers to the final consonant since *alo'ntyasya* [illegible]

मृज्यर्थमिति चेद्योगविभागात्सिद्धम्

If it is for the sake of *mṛj*, the end is achieved by *yogavibhāga*.

मृज्यर्थमिति चेत् योगविभागः करिष्यते । मृजेर्वृद्धिरचः । ततो ञ्णिति । ञ्णिति च वृद्धिर्भवति । अच इत्येव ।

If it is for the sake of *mṛj*, the *sūtras* *mṛjer vṛddhiḥ* and *ñṇiti*, are split in a different way: *mṛjer vṛddhir acaḥ* and then *ñṇiti*. *Vṛddhi* appears when the following *pratyaya* is *ñit* or *ṇit* and it replaces only an *ac*.

यद्यचो वृद्धिरुच्यते, न्यमार्ट् अटोऽपि वृद्धिः प्राप्नोति

If *vṛddhi* is said to replace *ac*, it may replace *a* (of *aṭ*) in *nyamārṭ*.

अटि चोक्तम् *

It has been said in the case of *aṭ*.

किमुक्तम् ?

What has been said ?

अनन्त्यविकारेऽन्त्यसदेशस्य कार्यं भवतीति

If substitution comes to a non-final element, it will come to that which is nearer the final.

वृद्धिप्रतिषेधानुपपत्तिस्त्विक्प्रकरणात् (तस्मादिग्लक्षणा वृद्धिः)

In that case *vṛddhi-pratiṣedha* won't fit in and hence *vṛddhi* should be enjoined with the term *ik*.

* I am not certain that this is a *vārttika* though it is found to be so in some editions.

मृजेस्तु प्रतिषेधो नोपपद्यते

The prohibition of *vṛddhi* (in *mṛṣṭa* etc.) won't apply.

किं कारणम्? Why?

इक्प्रकरणात्, इग्लक्षणयोर्गुणवृद्ध्योः प्रतिषेधः

Is so, since the prohibition is only for that enjoined to इक्; the prohibition is only to such *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* as could replace an *ik*.

न चैव सति मृजेरिग्लक्षणा वृद्धिर्भवति

If so, *vṛddhi* will not replace *ik* in *mṛj*.

तस्मान्मृजेरिग्लक्षणा वृद्धिरेषितव्या

Hence we should try to get in *mṛj*, the *vṛddhi* enjoined with the term *ik*.

एवं तर्हि, इहान्ये वैयाकरणा मृजेरजादौ संक्रमे* विभाषा वृद्धिमारभन्ते, परिमृजन्ति परिमार्जन्ति परिमृजन्तु परिमार्जन्तु परिममृजतुः परिममार्जतुः इत्याद्यर्थम्, तदिहापि साध्यम्, तस्मिन् साध्ये योगविभागः करिष्यते, मृजेर्वृद्धिरचः भवति, ततः अचि क्ङिति, अजादौ च क्ङिति मृजेर्वृद्धिर्भवति, परिमार्जन्ति परिमार्जन्तु परिममार्जतुः किमर्थमिदम् नियमार्थम्, अजादावेव क्ङिति नान्यत्र। क्वान्यत्र मा भूत् मृष्टः मृष्टवान् इति। ततो वा, वा अचि क्ङिति मृजेर्वृद्धिर्भवति परिमृजन्ति परिमार्जन्ति परिममृजतुः परिममार्जतुः इति

Some other grammarians wish *vṛddhi* optionally for *mṛj* when it is followed by *ak* and *kit* etc.: *parimṛjanti, parimārjanti, parimṛjantu, parimārjantu, parimamṛjatuḥ, parimamārjatuḥ*. The same is wanted here also and hence the *sūtra* is done in this way—'*mṛjer vṛddhir acaḥ*' and then '*a*...

* *Saṃkrama* is the usage of old grammarians denoting *kit* and *ṅit*.

kiti, which means that *mṛj* takes *vṛddhi* when it is followed by a *kit* or *ṅit* beginning with a vowel viz. *parimārjanti, parimārjantu, parimārjakaḥ*. What is this for? For the sake of *niyama*, so that it takes place only in those places where *kit* or *ṅit* begins with a vowel and not in other places. What are those places where it should not be? They are *mṛṣṭaḥ, mṛṣṭavān*. Then the *sūtra* [illegible] is read, which means that *mṛj* takes *vṛddhi* optionally when it is followed by a *kit* or *ṅit* beginning with a vowel viz. *parimṛjanti, parimārjanti, parimṛjantu, parimārjantu* [illegible].

इहार्थमेव तर्हि सिजर्थं वृद्धिग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्, सिचि वृद्धिरविशेषेणोच्यमाना इको यथा स्यात् अनिको मा भूत् इति

If so *vṛddhi* should be mentioned for the sake of this *sūtra* on behalf of *sic* so that the *vṛddhi* that is enjoined to come after *sic* may replace an *ik* and not an *anik*.

कस्य पुनरनिकः प्राप्नोति?

For which *anik* is there the possibility to be replaced by *vṛddhi*?

अकारस्य, अचिकीर्षीत् अजिहीर्षीत्

For *akāra* viz. *acikīrṣīt, ajihīrṣīt*.*

नैतदस्ति, लोपोऽत्र बाधको भवति

No, the *lopa* (enjoined by *ato lopaḥ*) prevents its operation.

अकारस्य तर्हि प्राप्नोति, अयासीत् अवासीत्

If so, there is that possibility for *akāra* viz. *ayāsīt, avāsīt*.

* In *acikīrṣīt a* is dropped by *ato lopaḥ*.

नान्यत्र विशेषः सत्या वृद्धावसत्यां वा

There is no difference whether there is *vṛddhi* or not

सन्ध्यक्षरस्य तर्हि प्राप्नोति

So there is that possibility for diphthongs

नैव सन्ध्यक्षरमन्त्यमस्ति

There is no diphthong which is final

ननु चेदमस्ति ढलोपे कृते उदवोढम्, उदवोढाम्, उदवोढ इति

Oh, there it is when ढ् is elided *viz.* *udavoḍham*, *udavoḍhām*, *udavoḍha*!

नैतदस्ति, असिद्धो ढलोपः, तस्यासिद्धत्वात् नैतदन्त्यं भवति

No, it is not, *ḍhalopa* is taken to be non-existing; since it is *asiddha*, diphthong is not the final letter

व्यञ्जनस्य तर्हि प्राप्नोति, अभैत्सीत्, अच्छैत्सीत्

If so, there is that possibility for consonants—*abhaitsīt*, *acchaitsīt*

हलन्तलक्षणा* वृद्धिर्बाधिका भविष्यति

Vṛddhi enjoined to the vowel of the *aṅgas* that end in consonants prevents its operation

यत्र तर्हि सा प्रतिषिध्यते, नेटि इति अकोषीत् अमोषीत्

What do you say where it is prohibited by the *sūtra* *neṭi* viz. *akoṣīt*, *amoṣīt*?

* This means that which is enjoined to the vowel of the *aṅga* [illegible] by the *sūtra* *vadavrajahalantasyācaḥ*.

सिचि वृद्धेरप्येष प्रतिषेधः

This is the prohibitive rule also for the *sūtra sici vṛddhiḥ*

कथम् ! How ?

लक्षणं हि नाम ध्वनति, भ्रमति, मुहूर्तमपि नावतिष्ठते

For *lakṣaṇa* suggests vagueness, wanders everywhere and does not stand still even for a moment

अथवा सिचि वृद्धिः परस्मैपदेषु इति सिचि वृद्धिः प्राप्नोति, तस्या हलन्तलक्षणा वृद्धिर्बाधिका, तस्या अपि नेटि इति प्रतिषेधः

Or *vṛddhi* before *sic* as enjoined by the *sūtra sici vṛddhiḥ parasmaipadeṣu*, it has its *apavāda* in the *sūtra* [illegible] *halantasya ca* and it has its *apavāda* in *neṭi*

अस्ति पुनः क्वचिदन्यत्रापि अपवादे प्रतिषिद्धे उत्सर्गोऽपि न भवति

Is there another place where the general rule does not operate when there is an exception to the exception ?

अस्तीत्याह सुवाते [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] इति पूर्वरूपे प्रतिषिद्धे अयादयोऽपि न भवन्ति

Yes, says he [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], *adhenuyo* [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] here though [illegible] is prohibited, the [illegible] etc. have not replaced [illegible] etc.

उत्तरार्थमेव तर्हि सिज्ग्रहणं वृद्धिग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्, सिचि वृद्धिरविशेषेणोच्यते, सा विकिरति मा भूत्, न्यनुवीत् न्यधुवीत्

If so, let the use of the word *vṛddhi* be intended for the the next *sūtra* to prohibit *vṛddhi* enjoined by *sici vṛddhiḥ*; *vṛddhi* before *sic* is enjoined in general and let it not operate when it is followed by [illegible] [illegible], *nyadhuvīt*

नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम्, अन्तरङ्गत्वादत्र उवङादेशे कृते अनन्त्यत्वाद् वृद्धिर्न भविष्यति

No, this is not the purpose to be served; for, after *uvaṅādeśa* which first operates by *antaraṅgaparibhāṣā*, there is no occasion for *vṛddhi* since the vowel is not the final element of the *aṅga*.

यदि तर्हि सिच्यन्तरङ्गं भवति, अकार्षीत् अहार्षीत्, गुणे कृते रपरत्वे चानन्त्यत्वाद् वृद्धिर्न प्राप्नोति

If, then, *antaraṅgaparibhāṣā* prevails in *sicvṛddhi*, the words *akārṣīt*, *ahārṣīt* cannot be formed since the final element of the *aṅga* is not a vowel after the operation of the *sūtras* enjoining *guṇa* and *raparatva*

मा भूदेवम्, हलन्तस्य . . इत्येवं भविष्यति

Let it not be in that manner, the *sūtra* '*halantasya* . .' operates (and the desired form is obtained)

इह तर्हि न्यखोरीत् न्यमीरीत्, गुणे कृते रपरत्वे चानन्त्यत्वाद्वृद्धिर्न प्राप्नोति, हलन्तलक्षणायाश्च नेटि इति प्रतिषेधः

Then in the words *nyakhorīt*, *nyamīrīt*, *vṛddhi* cannot come in after the *sūtras* enjoining the *guṇa* and *raparatva* operate since the vowel is not final and the *sūtra* '*vada vraja halanta-sya* . .' cannot operate since it is prohibited by the *sūtra* '*neṭi*'

मा भूदेवम्, अतो ल्रान्तस्य इत्येवं भविष्यति

This cannot be, for it will happen by the *sūtra* *ato lrāntasya*.

इह तर्हि अलावीत् अपावीत्, गुणे कृतेऽवादेशे चानन्त्यत्वात् वृद्धिर्न प्राप्नोति हलन्तलक्षणायाश्च नेटि इति प्रतिषेधः

Then in the words [illegible], *vṛddhi* cannot come in after the *sūtras* enjoining *guṇa* and *ādeśa* operate, since the vowel is not final and the *sūtra*—*pugantalaghūpadhasya* is prohibited from operating by the *sūtra* *kṅiti*.

मा भूदेवम्, ल्रान्तस्य इत्येव भविष्यति

This cannot be, for it will happen by the *sūtra*—*ato lrāntasya*.

ल्रान्तस्य इत्युच्यते, न चेदं ल्रान्तम्

It is said when the final is *l* or *r* and this is not having *l* or *r* as its final.

ल्रान्तस्य इत्यत्र वकारोऽपि निर्दिश्यते

V also is mentioned in *lrānta*.

किं वकारो न श्रूयते?

Why is not *v* heard?

लुप्तनिर्दिष्टो वकारः

Vakāra has been dropped.

यद्येवं मा भवानवीत् मा भवानमवीत्, अत्रापि प्राप्नोति

If so *vṛddhi* might come in *mā bhavān avīt* and *mā bhavān amavīt*.

अविमव्योर्नेति वक्ष्यामि

I shall say that it does not come in the case of *av* and *mav*.

तद्वक्तव्यम्

It should be said.

न वक्तव्यम्, णिश्विभ्यां तौ निमातव्यौ

No, it need not be said, they should be exchanged by *ṇi* and *śvi*.

यद्यप्येतदुच्यते, अथवैतर्हि णिश्व्योः प्रतिषेधो न वक्तव्यो भवति, गुणे कृतेऽयादेशे च यान्तानां नैव प्रतिषेधो भविष्यति

Though this is said so, there is no need for the mention of *ṇi* and *śvi* in the *sūtra* '*hmyantakṣaṇaśvasajāgṛṇiśvyeditām*', for, after they take *guṇa* and *ayādeśa*, they are prohibited from taking *vṛddhi*, since they end in *y*.

एवं तर्ह्याचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति न सिच्यन्तरङ्गं भवति इति, यदयम् अतो हलादेर्लघोः इत्यकारग्रहणं करोति

'The employment of *ācārya* suggests that the *antaraṅgaparibhāṣā* does not operate in the application of the *sūtra* '*sici vṛddhiḥ parasmaipadeṣu*'.

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम्?

How is it to be interpreted to make it a *jñāpaka*?

अकारग्रहणस्यैतत्प्रयोजनम्, इह मा भूत् अकोषीत् अमोषीत्. यदि सिच्यन्तरङ्गं स्यात् अकारग्रहणमनर्थकं स्यात्, गुणे कृतेऽलघुत्वाद्वृद्धिर्न भविष्यति, पश्यति त्वाचार्यो न सिच्यन्तरङ्गं भवतीति, ततोऽकारग्रहणं करोति

The mention of *akāra* has this use that it may not happen in *akoṣīt*, *amoṣīt*. If *antaraṅgaśāstra* prevails in *sici vṛddhiḥ*, the use of *akāra* will be of no use since there is no short penultimate after *guṇa* comes. Hence seeing that *antaraṅga-śāstra* does not prevail there, he uses *akāra*.

नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम्, अस्त्यन्यदेतस्य वचने प्रयोजनम्

No, this is not a *jñāpaka*, for there is a purpose in having said it.

किम्? What?

यत्र गुणः प्रतिषिध्यते तदर्थमेतत्स्यात् न्यकुटीत् न्यपुटीत् इति

Where *guṇa* is prohibited, it is used there to prohibit *vṛddhi* viz. *nyakuṭīt*, *nyapuṭīt*.

यत्तर्हि णिङत्यो प्रतिषेधं शास्ति, तेन नैहान्तरङ्गमस्ति इति दर्शयति

Then since prohibition is enjoined for *ki* and *ṅit*, *Ācārya* suggests that *antaraṅgaparibhāṣā* does not prevail here

यच्च करोत्यकारग्रहणं लघोरिति कृतेऽपि

And since *akāra* is read even though there is the word *laghoḥ*

तस्मादिग्लक्षणा वृद्धिः

Therefore *vṛddhi* should be enjoined to *ik*

VIII

* षष्ठ्याः स्थानेयोगत्वादिग्निवृत्तिः

Genitive being supplemented by *sthāne*, all *iks* will disappear.

षष्ठ्याः स्थानेयोगत्वात् सर्वेषामिकां निवृत्तिः प्राप्नोति । अस्यापि प्राप्नोति दधि मधु

Since the genitive (whose meaning is not defined) is supplemented by the word *sthāne*, all *iks* will disappear. The *ik* of *dadhi* and *madhu* will also disappear

पुनर्वचनमिदानीं किमर्थं स्यात्

What for, then, is the repetition? †

* The *pūrvapakṣa* [illegible] that the [illegible] *vidhivākya* [illegible] the *siddhānta* is that it is a *paribhāṣā*.

† As in *mider guṇaḥ*

अन्यतरार्थं पुनर्वचनम्

The repetition is to choose one of the two.

अन्यतरार्थमेतत्स्यात्, सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोर्गुण एव इति

This is to choose either of the two *viz.* *guṇa* alone in the operation of the *sūtra*—*sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ.*

प्रसारणे च

In the case of the *sūtra* dealing with *samprasāraṇa*

प्रसारणे च सर्वेषां यणां निवृत्तिं प्राप्नोति, अस्यापि प्राप्नोति याता वाता

When the *sūtra* dealing with *samprasāraṇa* operates, all *yaṇs* will disappear. The *y* and *v* in *yātā* and *vātā* also will disappear.

पुनर्वचनमिदानीं किमर्थं स्यात्?

What for is, then, the repetition?

विषयार्थं पुनर्वचनम्

Repetition is to decide the circumstances.

विषयार्थमेतत्स्यात् वचिस्वपियजादीनां कित्येवेति *

This is to decide the circumstances viz. *samprasāraṇa* takes place to *vac*, *svap*, *yaj etc.* only when they are followed by *kit.*

उरण् रपरे च

In the *sūtra* '*uraṇ raparaḥ*' also.

* This takes places when *yaṇaḥ* in *ig yaṇaḥ samprasāraṇam* is taken to be a *sthānaṣaṣṭhī* which is always the case

उरणरपरे च सर्वेषामृकाराणां निवृत्तिं प्राप्नोति. अन्यापि प्राप्नोति—कर्तृ हर्तृ

In the application of the *sūtra*, all *ṛkāras* will disappear; it will disappear in the words *kartṛ*, *hartṛ* also.

सिद्धं तु षष्ठ्यधिकारे वचनात्

The end is achieved by reading it after *ṣaṣṭhyadhikāra*.

सिद्धमेतत्; कथम्?

This is achieved. How?

षष्ठ्यधिकारे इमे योगाः कर्तव्याः। एकस्तावत् क्रियते तत्रैव. इमावपि योगौ षष्ठ्यधिकारमनुवर्तिष्येते

These *sūtras* have to be read after *ṣaṣṭhī sthānēyōga*. One *uraṇ raparaḥ* is read there and the other two are taken there.

अथवा षष्ठ्यधिकारे इमौ अपेक्षिष्यामहे

Or we require them in *ṣaṣṭhyadhikāra*.

अथैव तावदयं प्रष्टव्यः सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोर्गुणो भवति इति इह कस्मान्न भवति याता वाता?

Or he should first be put this question: why *guṇa* does not take place in *yātā* and *vātā* by the *sūtra* '*sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayōḥ*'.

इदं तत्रापेक्षिष्यते इको गुणवृद्धी इति

This *sūtra* '*ikō guṇavṛddhī*' is read along with it.

यथैव तर्हि इदं तत्रापेक्षिष्यते एवमिहापि तदपेक्षिष्यामहे सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोः इति

As it is read with it there, so also it is read with *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ* in interpreting its meaning.

Hence it must be noted that प्रसारणे च and उत्तरपदे च have been mentioned as parallel cases. *Mahābhāṣyakāra* first mentioned the difficulties met with, if this *sūtra* is taken a *vidhisūtra* and finally suggested three ways to avert the difficulties, of which the last is the best, where he takes the *sūtra* only as a *paribhāṣā*.

इति श्रीमद्भगवत्पतञ्जलिविरचिते व्याकरणमहाभाष्ये प्रथमस्याध्यायस्य प्रथमपादे

वृद्ध्याह्निकं नाम तृतीयमाह्निकम्

Vṛddhyāhnika ends.

CORRIGENDA.

Page.	Line.	For	Read.
1	15	Omit 'a'	
2	1	Omit 'of'	
5	1	Omit 'was'	
9	1	Omit 'the' before marriage.	
14	19	Rgvēda	Ṛgvēda
16	17	species	individuality
17	1, 2	species	individuality
48	23, 28	species	individuality
22	27	पैहिक	ऐहिक
35	5	निष्काय—	निष्कायु—
38	26	स्वात्मानं	स्वमात्मानं
41	13	प्रतिष्ठितनमं	प्रतिष्ठितनम्
	27	A	The
55	10	individuality	individuality
	14	*Akrti*	*Ākṛti*
	17	अथवता—	अर्थवता—
58	4	Add 'to us' before that	
	23	धमनियमः	धर्मनियमः
70	13	for	to
72	23	the the	the
78	12	भवन	भवति
89	15	अतिस्त्रवः	अनिरुद्धः
95	9	अइउण	अइउण्
106	20	women	woman
116	12	एश्राङ्	एओङ्
118	2	*samjña*	*samjñā*
122	7	योगविभाग	योगविभागः
129	21	*then*	*than*

Page	Line	For	Read
140	26	स्वनयति	स्वर्नयति
143	8	उपदेश	उपदेश.
145	20	अथवां	अथवा
153	13	एकत्वमथा	एकत्वमर्थं.
154	18	or	or
160	6	इात	इति
	27	मुण्डूपदेशा	मुण्डूपदेश.
168	23	जिहीपति	जिहीर्षति
170	23	इण	इण्
173	2	प्राप्नोति:	प्राप्नोति
174	13	[illegible]	*Aṣṭādhyāyī*
	19	यत्र	यत्र
176	14	पश्यति	पश्यंति
177	18	[illegible]	[illegible]
187	22	comprehended	comprehended
191	12	have	as have
	25	आकारस्य	अकारस्य
192	4	For	for
216	1	occur	occur

INDEX OF WORDS IN THE THREE AHNIKAS OF THE MAHĀBHĀṢYA.

N. B. :— *Numbers refer to pages.*

अ.

अ 89, 149.
अइउण् 87, 157.
अक् 195.
अक्रियमाणे 181.
अक्ष्णाम् 200.
अक्षरम् 173, 174.
अक्षरशः 33.
अक्षरसमाम्नायः 175.
अक्षरसमाम्नायिकस्य 90.
अक्षरसमाम्नायिकम् 135.
अक्षरसमाम्नाये 95, 187.
अक्षराणि 116.
अक्षराश्रयः 126.
अक्षरेषु 117.
अक्षु 157—159.
अकः 9[illegible], 122, 126.
अकर्तुम् 146.
अकारः 87, 89, 95, 98, 101, 102, 1[illegible]3, 207.
अकारम् 97.
अकारग्रहणम् 232, 233.
अकारग्रहणस्य 232.
अकारयोः 128, 204.
अकारलोपः 127.
अकारस्य 87, 89, 95, 99, 100, 102, 128, 204, 227.
अकाराणाम् 205.
अकारान्तात् 142.
अकार्षीत् 230.
अकुत्वविषये 145.
अकृतप्रयत्नाः [illegible]8.
अकृतः [illegible], 1[illegible].
अकृते [illegible]
अकृतम् [illegible]
अकार्षीम् 2[illegible], [illegible]
अग्नय [illegible]
अग्नये [illegible]
अग्नि [illegible]
अग्निम् 11, 69.
अग्निचित् 215.
अग्निचितः [illegible]
अग्निचिति [illegible]
अग्निष्टोमेन 69.
अग्नी 112.
अग्ने 126, 215.
अग्नौ 61, 130, 131.
अग्रम् 100
अग्रहणम् 94.
अग्रहणानि 86, 92.
अगस्त्या 60.
अगस्त्यायाम् 60.
अगमकम् 185.
अगमत् 166.
अगोत्राय 192
अघ्नन् 154.
अङ्कम् 213, 214.

अङ्गस्य [illegible]13, 14.
अङ्गविशेषणे [illegible]
अङ्गाङ्गिभावम् [illegible]
अङ्गिभावम् 61.
अचि 213, 222
अच् 105, 106, 111, 117, 159.
अच्कार्यम् [illegible]
अच्कार्याणि [illegible]
अच्ग्रहणम् [illegible]
अज्झल्भ्यामित् 226.
अज् [illegible] 162, 164, 166, 223, 225, 226.
अजाम् 159, 223.
अजि 117, 157, 162, 226.
अजिधीर्षीत् 227.
अज्ग्रहणेन 157.
अज्ग्रहणेषु 157.
अज्वर्णाः 166.
अञ्चाजिनम् 181.
अञ्जन्ती 226.
अञ्जानन [illegible]
अञ्जस्य [illegible]
अजिजीर्षीत्
अट्कुप्वाङ् [illegible]
अट्पर [illegible]
अञ्जानम् [illegible]
अट् 1[illegible].
अटम् [illegible]
अट्टु [illegible]
अट्टि [illegible]
अण्ग्रहणेषु [illegible]
अण्व्यवधाने 134, 144, 148.
अण् 95, 97, 103, 137, 169, 171.
अणुग्रहणम् 103, 164, 165, 166, 171.
अणुग्रहणे 165, 166, 169.
अणुग्रहणेषु 163.
अणः 94, 164, 167.
अत् 177.
अत्यन्तम् 163.
अत्यन्तसिद्धः 52.
अत्यन्ताय 30.
अत्र 16, 46, 52, 59, 67, 88, 89, 92, 94, 101, 114, 117, 124, [illegible], 128, 130–132, [illegible]37, 138, 140, 150, 151, [illegible], 162, 163, 167, 168, 185, 188, 200–202, 212, 215, 218–221, 227, 230, 231.
अत्रा 39.
अतः 30, 44, 54, 61, 82, 105, [illegible], 139, [illegible], 178, 186, 223, 232.
अतदर्थगतिः 151.
अतदर्थगतेः 1[illegible]0, 151
अतत्परः 118.
अतत्पराणि 116, 118.
अतिप्रसङ्गः 89.
अतिरिक्तः 112.
अतिप्रसक्तम् 103.
अतिव्याप्ति 65.
अतिव्याप्तः 89.
अथ 6, 16, 24, 29, 30, 46, 49 51, 55, 61, 72, 79, 80, 105, 1[illegible], 128, 160, 164, 165, 166, 173, 174, 178, 181, 18[illegible], 193, 197, 201, 202, 212, 217, 218, 220, 223.
अथवा 16, 52, 53, 55, 57–59, 67, 70, 71, 76, 77, 83, 85, 97, 114, 122, 132, 133, 136,

142, 145–147, 151, 1[illegible]9, [illegible]74, 180, 184, 190, 192, 209, 210, 211, 221, 229, 232, 235.
अग्न्ये 43, 46, 64.
अग्निभिः 119, 229
अङ्गः 72, 78.
अङ्गाख्याम् 139.
अङ्ग्य 1[illegible], [illegible]91 [illegible]09, 210.
अङ्ग्यग्रहणम् [illegible]
अङ्गाम [illegible]
अङ्गाय. [illegible]
अध्ययनकाले. [illegible]
अध्यवस्यन्ति [illegible]
अध्यापीत [illegible]
अध्यता [illegible]
अध्यता [illegible]
अध्येति [illegible]
अध्येतृभ्य. [illegible]
अध्येयम् 21 26, 28, 32, 33, 37, 41, 42, 43.
अध्येयः [illegible]
अध्वर्यो 119, 220
अध्वर्युशाखाः 65.
अधर्मः 29, 67, 70, 71.
अधर्मम् 70.
अधरोत्तकम् 181.
अधिकरणयोः 75.
अधिकरणस्थः 102
अधिकरणस्थम् 102.
अधिकारः 209.
अधिकारार्थः 6
अधिकृतम् 6.
अधिगमयाख्यानभ्याः 71
अधिजिगांसमानेभ्यः 43.
अधिश्रित्य 61.
अधीत्य [illegible]
अधीतम् [illegible]
अधीताः [illegible]9
अधीते 109, 111, 14[illegible]
अधीयते 43, 11[illegible]
अधीयमानः [illegible]
अधीयानानाम् [illegible]
अधीयीत 109
अनुग्रम् 139.
अन्त्यम् 213, 214, 227, 228.
अन्त्यविधिः 148.
अन्त्यस्य 148, 212, 214.
अन्त्यप्रदेशस्य 225
अन्तम् 46.
अन्ताः 42, 221.
अन्तानः 194.
अन्तोदात्तत्वम् 99.
अन्तयोः 97.
अन्तरङ्गम् 135, 230, 232, 233.
अन्तरङ्गत्वात् 230.
अन्तरङ्गे 135.
अन्तरतमः 94.
अन्तरेण 23, 32, 61, 197, 206.
अन्तस्थस्थम् 41
अन्तस्थानाम् 100
अन्तोदात्तात् 200.
अन्यः 152.
अन्यः 62, 110, 112.
अन्यत् 43, 72, 83, 89, 91, 119, 1[illegible]7, 1[illegible]8, 194, 195, 1[illegible]9, 217, 229, 232.
अन्यत्र 71, 90, 140, 170, 196, 201, 226, 229.
अन्यत्वम् 199.
अन्यतरत् 189
अन्यतरार्थम् 234.

अन्यतरोपदेशेन 44.
अन्यथा 108.
अन्यवचनात् 210.
अन्यस्मात् 131.
अन्यस्मिन् 104, 120.
अन्यस्य 132.
अन्यस्याः 210.
अन्या 56.
अन्यान् 63
अन्याभ्याम् 131.
अन्ये 44, 82, 155; 183, 226
अन्येषाम् [illegible]
अन्येषु [illegible]
अन्यैः [illegible]
अन्वाख्यायते [illegible], 88, 89
अन्वाख्यायेत [illegible]
अन्वाचये [illegible]
अन्वाह [illegible]
अन्वितम् [illegible]
अन्वितस्य [illegible]
अनः 114, 11[illegible]
अनकारान्तप्रतिषेधार्थम् 115
अनग्नौ [illegible]
अनडुह् [illegible]
अनन्ते [illegible], 148
अनन्तरम् [illegible]
अनन्त्यत्वात् [illegible]
अनर्थकः 155 156.
अनर्थकम् 43, 97, 128, 162–166, 168, 169, 181, 204, 205, 232.
अनर्थकत्वम् 1[illegible]
अनर्थकाः 152–155.
अनर्थकयोः 150, 151, 155.
अनर्थकानि 151
अनर्थकेन 186.
अनर्थकैः 155.
अनन्त्यत्वात् 168, 230.
अनन्त्यप्रतिषेधः 215.
अनन्त्यविकारे 225.
अनन्त्यस्य 212, 216, 217.
अनन्त्यत्वात् 113, 213, 230.
अनन्यत्वात् 103.
अनन्यार्थम् 129, 206.
अनन्यवत् 113.
अनन्तम् 29, 30.
अनया 21[illegible]
अनवकाशत्वात् 1[illegible]
अनवकाशा 1[illegible]
अनपायः 57, 161.
अनभ्युपायः 46, 47.
अनयोः 187.
अनभिसमिहितम् 41.
अनभिविधौ 148.
अनवकाशा [illegible]
अनाकृतिः 181, 185, 1[illegible].
अनाकृतिताम् 190
अनिकः [illegible], 227.
अनिगन्तम् 214.
अनिगन्तस्य 213, 214.
अनिष्टः 13[illegible]
अनित्यम् 55, 58.
अनित्यत्वम् 101.
अनित्याः 55, 56.
अनियतः 216, 217.
अनियमः 71.
अनु 42.
अनुकरणम् [illegible], 108–110, 11[illegible].
अनुकरणार्थः 105, 106
अनुकृतेन [illegible], 110.
अनुकृष्यते 115.
अनुच्यमानम् 208.
अनुच्छिद्य 61.

अनुत्पत्तिः 57
अनुदात्तः 81, 198.
अनुदात्तस्य 198
अनुदात्तादेः 200.
अनुनासिकः 81, 14[illegible], 142, 16[illegible], 166, 207.
अनुनासिकम् 9[illegible]
अनुनासिकस्य 140, 142
अनुनासिके 140.
अनुप्रदानम्: 43.
अनुपदिश्य 80.
अनुपदिष्टम् 137
अनुपदिष्टाः 1[illegible]3, 14[illegible]
अनुपपत्तिः 75, 95
अनुपपन्न 72, 77
अनुपसर्गे 75, 128, 204
अनुपिबति 109.
अनुबध्यते 163, 171.
अनुबध्येते 171.
अनुबन्धः 9[illegible], 9[illegible], 9[illegible], 128.
अनुबन्धम् 1[illegible]9, 204, 20[illegible]
अनुबन्धाः 80, 137.
अनुबन्धार्थम् 61.
अनुबन्धानाम् 8[illegible], 157, 18[illegible]
अनुबन्धेभ्यः 1.
अनुबन्धेषु 185
अनुबन्धः 83, 67.
अनुवर्त्य 192.
अनुवर्तते 133, 162, 163, 20[illegible]
अनुवर्तन्ते 210
अनुवर्तनात् 210
अनुवर्तमाने 94, 129
अनुवृत्तिः 94.
अनुवर्त्यते 115, 209.
अनुवर्त्येते 235.
अनुविद्धत्वे 62, 64.
अनुविधेयाः 64
अनुवृत्तिः 210.
अनुवृत्तौ 94, 95
अनुस्वारः 93, 143, 146
अनुस्वारविशेषणम् 146
अनुस्वारस्य 140, 160.
अनुस्वारे 146
अनुहल्ति 16[illegible]
अनूनः 115.
अनेकः 99, 102
अनेकम् 83.
अनेकविधम् 74
अनेकान्त 75, 78
अनेकान्त्यम् 8[illegible], 90.
अनेन [illegible], 34, 58, 66, 74, 84, 172, 185, 186, 195
अनेनिजुः 2[illegible]5, 2[illegible]0
अप् 1[illegible]4, 2[illegible]
अपवादौ 48
अप्रगृह्यस्य 165, 16[illegible]
अप्रत्यय 167
अप्रत्ययस्य 167
अप्रतिपत्तिः 73, 78.
अप्रतिषिद्धम् 70, 100
अप्रतिषिद्धस्य 69
अप्रतिषिद्धेषु 68
अप्रधानत्वात् 158
अप्रमत्तगीतः 31.
अप्रयुक्त 63.
अप्रयुक्ताः 61, 62, 63, 64, 66
अप्रयुक्ते 64
अप्रयोगः 63.
अप्रवीणाः 68.
अप्रसक्तः 196.
अप्रसिद्धिः 193.
अप्राप्ते 220

अप्लुते 139.
अप्सु 71.
अप 52.
अपक्राम 149.
अपनुदेः 129.
अपभ्रंशाः 29, 46, 67.
अपभाषन्ते 71.
अपभाषितम् 71.
अपभाषितवै 25.
अपरः 35, 69, 107, 159.
अपरथाः 71.
अपरया 56.
अपरे 155, 183.
अपराधात् 26.
अपरितुष्यन् 185.
अपरिभाष्यम् 103.
अपरिहार्यः 107, 111.
अपरिहृतम् 156.
अपवर्गः 48, 210, 212, 220.
अपवादस्य 218, 220.
अपवादे 229.
अपशब्दः 25, 67, 70, 71, 110, 112.
अपशब्दज्ञाने 29.
अपशब्दभाक् 110.
अपशब्दम् 41, 110.
अपशब्दाः 29, 44, 112.
अपशब्दान् 29, 67, 70.
अपशब्देन [illegible].
अपशब्दैः [illegible], 30.
अपशब्दोपदेशः 44–46.
अपाणिनीयम् 84, 185.
अपायः 153, 154.
अपाक्षीत् 230.
अपास्याः 168.
अपि 11, 22, 29, 30, 37, 43–44, 46, 49, 51, 52, 54, 57, 60–64, 66–71, 75–78, 80, 81, 83, 85, 87, 88, 90, 91, 95, 98, 99, 102, 104, 105, 107–111, 113, 114, 116, 118, 122, 124–126, 128, 130–135, 137–140, 145, 146, 148, 152, 156, 158–166, 168, 169, 171–175, 177, 179, 180, 182–187, 189, 190, 192–194, 196, 197, 199, 201, 202, 204–209, 214–220, 222–226, 229, 231–235.
अपेक्षिष्यते 235.
अपेक्षिष्यामहे 211, 235.
अपेहि 149.
अभिमन्युः 215.
अभ्यन्तरः 63, 126.
अभ्यवहारार्थम् 60.
अभ्यस्तम् 196.
अभ्याज 181.
अभ्यादधीत 130.
अभ्याधीयते 130.
अभ्युक्तः 145.
अभ्युक्तम् 145.
अभ्युदयः 69.
अभ्युदयकारि 61.
अभ्युदयाय 70, 109.
अभ्युदयेन 68, 69, 71, 109.
अभ्युपायः 70.
अभ्युपायेन 92.
अभक्ष्यः 44, 59.
अभक्ष्यम् 60.
अभक्ष्यप्रतिषेधेन 44.
अभक्ष्याः 44.
अभिज्वलितः 102.

अभिधेयः 61.
अभिषम् 16.
अभिमताः 66.
अभिमन्त्रयते 61.
अभिवदन्ति 69
अभिवादे 32.
अभिषेये 11.
अभिसम्बन्धः 55, 187, 192.
अभेदः 61.
अभेदम् 45.
अभेदकाः 199, 200.
अभैत्सीत् 228.
अम्परे 172.
अम्बुकृतः 82
अम्भसोः 201.
अमि 12?.
अमी 61.
अमोषीत् 228, 232.
अयम् 6, 16, 30, 32, 54, 75–77, 85, 88, 89, 91, 95, 97, 98, 100, 101, 105, 107, 110-112, 119, 122, 124, 127, 128, 130, 135, 138, 140, 144, 162 171, 173, 175, 180, 190, 192, 196, 199, 200, 202, 204, 205, 207, 212, 214, 217-220, 222, 223, 232, 235.
अयस्मयादीनि 177.
अयादयः 206, 229,
अयादेशो 232.
अयासीत् 227.
अयुक्तः 218-220.
अयुक्तम् 184, 185.
अयुक्ताः 143.
अयोगवाहाः 143.
अयोगवाहानाम् 144.
अर्कः 100.
अर्तिः 107.
अर्थः 54, 55, 58, 60, 61. 75. 79–81, 86, 87, 90 92, 100, 105, 110-112, 115, 150, 15., 159, 197, 204, 205.
अर्थम् 23, 58, 80, 97, 98, 115, 129, 135, 160, 174, 195, 197, 203, 224, 226, 233, 234.
अर्थदर्शनात् 149, 153, 154.
अर्थप्रयुक्ते 58.
अर्थरूपम् 16
अर्थव्यत्ययः 154.
अर्थवत् 152.
अर्थवताम् 156.
अर्थवत्तायाम् 155.
अर्थवत्ताम् 55.
अर्थवत्त्वात् 151, 152, 155.
अर्थवद्भिः 155.
अर्थवन्तः 149, 150, 152, 154, 155.
अर्थवन्ति 149, 181.
अर्थवान् 155
अर्थविकारः 154
अर्थस्य 150.
अर्थसम्बन्धे 55.
अर्थाः 63, 83, 89, 153
अर्थात् 70.
अर्थान्तरगमनम् 155.
अर्थान्तरगमनात् 155.
अर्थान्तरेषु 155, 156.
अर्थानुपलब्धेः 153.
अर्थापायः 154.
अर्थावगतौ 61.

अर्थिना 196.
अर्थे 51, 55, 56, 58, 63, 108, [illegible].
अर्थेषु 63.
अर्थोपजनः 154.
अर्धः 118, 120.
अर्धम् 37, 119.
अर्धकः 82.
अर्धव्यञ्जनकः 170.
अर्धमात्रिकस्य 207.
अर्हति 30, 105, 190, 223.
अल्पघनः 115.
अल्पीयान् 105.
अल्पीयांसः 29, 67.
अल्पेन [illegible].
अल्लोपः 114, 115.
अलः 48.
अलक्षणम् 53, 54, 171, 201.
अलघुत्वात् 232.
अलम्बुसानाम् 85.
अलावीत् 230.
अलिक्षत् 139.
अलोन्त्यः 147.
अलोन्त्यस्य 212, 213, 214.
अलोन्त्यापवादः 212.
अलोन्त्यविशेषः 212.
अव्यपवृक्तम् 131.
अव्यपवृक्तस्य 130.
अव्यपवृक्ते 131.
अव्यययोगि 57.
अवञ्च्युपधात् 141.
अवकीर्णा 71.
अवकाशः 218, 220.
अवकाशो 183, 186.
अवग्रहात् 136.
अवतम् 163.
अवतिष्ठते 229.
अवधारणाति 52.
अवयवः 126.
अवयवग्रहणेन 125, 126.
अवयवस्य 126, 130.
अवयवाः 126, 152.
अवयवाश्रयः 130.
अवयवे 76.
अवयवेषु 77.
अवयवैः 126.
अवर्णः 81, 103, 118.
अवर्णम् 118, 131.
अवर्णकुलम् 81.
अवर्णस्य 8[illegible].
अवर्णात् 131.
अवर्णोपधस्य 132.
अवश्यम् 22, 23, 64, 75, 110, 112, 116, 162, [illegible], [illegible], 190, 219, 222, 223.
अवशिष्यते 56.
अवाग्योगवित् 30.
अवात् 103.
अवात्तम् 103.
अवात्ताम् 100.
अवादेशे 230.
अवात्सीत् 227.
अविचालि 57.
अविचालिभिः 101.
अविचालिषु 51.
अविजानतः 78.
अविज्ञातम् 28.
अविद्वांसः 25, 31, 37.
अविभक्तिकः 114, 133, 221.
अविभक्त्योः 231.
अविशेषेण 114, 146, 147, 187, 195, 224, 226, 229.

अवीत् 231.
अवृद्धम् 41.
अवृद्धि 57.
अवैयाकरणः 22, 24.
अश्नुते 173.
अश्नोतिग्रहणम् 132.
अश्नोतेः 132, 173.
अश्वः 11, 46, 76, 100, 119, 228.
अश्वमनृते 229.
अशक्या 106.
अशक्तिज्ञार्थः 105, 106.
अशक्यम् 186.
अशाखाग्निसमस्य 108.
अशिष्टम् 50, 108, 109.
अष्टमे 192.
अष्टद्वराथा 83.
अस्ति 56, 61, 63, 83, 89-92, 97, 103, 105, 107, 112, 120, 127-12[illegible], 1[illegible]1, 135, [illegible]37, 140, 147, 148, 160 1[illegible]2, 164-167, 172, 19[illegible], 198, 214, 219, 223, 227-230, 232, 233.
अस्तु 68, 70, 77, 84, 114, 139, 141, [illegible]42, 15[illegible], 161, 162, 172, 179, 185, 215.
अस्थाने 192.
अस्थि 200.
अस्माकम् 70.
अस्माभिः 62, 155.
अस्मिन् 42, 165, 166, 169, 186.
अस्मै 187, 192, 195.
अस्य 33, 46, 63, 67, 72, 91, 94, 105, 151, 175, 176, 183, 192, 218, 220, 2[illegible]8-2[illegible].
असत् 137.
असत्याम् 228.
असति 161.
असन्दिग्धम् [illegible]64-166, 169, 17[illegible]
असन्देहः 21, 24, 53, 182-184.
असन्देहार्थः 24, 125, 201, 202.
असम्प्रत्ययः 181, 186.
असम्भवम् 217.
असम्भवः 130, 131, 219.
असम्भवि 99.
असम्भवे 219.
असमर्थः 152.
असमर्थम् 152.
असमर्था 152.
असि 25, 42.
असिद्धम् 105, 111, 135.
असिद्धः 220.
असिद्धत्वात् 105, 128, 160.
असिद्धे 145.
असुराः 25.
असुरैः 71.
असौ 24, 29, 67, 70, 71, 107, [illegible]9, 110, 112, 18[illegible], 206, 219.
अहम् 32, 63.
अहङ्कारादि 139.
अहार्षीत् 230.

आक्षरसमाम्नायिकेन 91, 92.
आकारः 178, 183, 197, 201.
आकारम् 87.
आकारग्रहणार्थः 97.
आकारनिवृत्त्यर्थम् 203.
आकारनिवृत्त्यर्थेन 204.
आकारलोपः 128, 204.
आकारस्वरस्य 128.
आकारस्य 180, 197, 204, 204, 205, 227.
आकाशः 102.
आकाशम् 51.
आकृतिः 16, 48, 55, 56, 81, 84, [illegible].
आकृतिम् 55, 56.
आकृतिमतः 184, 190.
आकृतिमन्तः 184, 190.
आकृत्या 55, 56.
आकृतौ 56, 57.
आख्यातम् 33, 35.
आगमः 21, 22, 117, 154.
आगमाः 85, 86, 118.
आगमकालेन 47.
आगमलिङ्गम् 188.
आगमानाम् 173.
आगमिन 173.
आगमेषु 85.
आगमौ 172, 173.
आङ् 134.
आच्छादयामः 103, 104.
आचष्टे 192.
आचार्य 54, 91, 128, 162, 168, 171, 186, 191, 200, 204, 205, 232.
आचार्यप्रवृत्तिः 168, 204, 205, 252.
आचार्यस्य 50, 122, 127, 128, [illegible], 158.
आचार्याः 75, 157.
आचार्याणाम् 157, 163, 182.
आचार्याचारः 184.
आचार्याचारात् 182, 184.
आचार्येण 48, 75.
आचार्यैः 192.
आचारात् 157.
आचारे 67, 71.
आटतुः 132.
आटुः 132.
आत् 73, 78, 121, 124, 176–178, 182, 183, 191, 210.
आतः 78, 128, 204.
आतृदः 108.
आदेच 209.
आदैजागमस्य 179.
आदैचाम् 194.
आत्मनः 100.
आत्मा 199.
आनः 138.
आथर्वणः 65.
आदयः 46, 67, 82, 84–86.
आदिः 82–84, 97, 226.
आदित्यः 102, 163.
आदित्यम् 102.
आदित्यवत् 102.
आदित्वम् 168.
आदितः 54, 191.
आदिभिः 83.

आदित्यः 92, 95.
आदित्यस्य 94.
आदिषु 106.
आदीन् 43.
आदीनाम् 82.
आदेः 224.
आदेशः 154, 157, 219.
आदेशा 121, 124, 148, 185, 201.
आदेशौ 219.
आद्यन्त 184, 189, 190, 194.
आद्यन्तः 187, 188, 193.
आद्यन्तानाम् 194.
आन्तर्येण 89, 121, 124, 201, 207.
आन्तर्यम् 94.
आन्यभाव्यम् 100, 102.
आनर्थक्यम् 68.
आनुनासिक्यम् 199.
आनुपूर्वी 86.
आनुपूर्व्येण 80.
आनृचतुः 132.
आनृचुः 132.
आपानि 29, 30.
आपन्नम् 70.
आपिशलम् 74.
आभ्याम् 149.
आमीक्ष्ये 54.
आम्रगुप्तायनिः 178.
आम्रमयम् 178.
आम्राः 85.
आम्रेडितम् 192.
आमिक्षावतः 60.
आयस्य 97.
आयादीनाम् 206.
आयाहि 11.
आयुः 47.
आयुष्मन् 54, 191.
आर्त्विजीनाः 33.
आर्धधातुकस्य 234, 235.
आर्धधातुकयोः 221.
आर्धधातुके 127, 215.
आर्या 65.
आरण्याः 44.
आरभ्यमाणः 206.
आरभ्यन्ते 18, 187, 220.
आरभते 170.
आलभ्यन्ते 200.
आलभेत 31, 206.
आल्य 126.
आवर्तने 190.
आवर्तिन्यः 190.
आविवेश 14.
आवृत्तः 56.
आवृत्ति 98.
आवृत्तित 98, 99.
आवृत्ते 98.
आवृतः 164.
आश्रयत्वात् 193.
आश्रयता 193.
आश्रयम् 193, 194.
आश्रयः 193.
आश्रयाणि 193, 194.
आश्रये 193.
आश्रीयमाणः 200.
आश्वत्थी 130.
आशुगामित्वात् 101.
आस्यम् 88.
आस्यात् 88.
आस्ये 88.
आसक्तुम् 80.
आसक्ष्यामि 80.

आसज्य 184.
आसादयति 71.
आसीत् 46.
आह 16, 30, 35, 37, 46, 48, 55, 58, 61, 69, 70, 80, 82, 85, 90, 98, 106, 107, 112, 1[illegible], 1[illegible], [illegible]9, 181, 185, 202, 229.
आहर 187.
आहिताग्निः 41.
आहुः 183.
आहोपुरुषिकामात्रम् 90.
आहोस्वित् 44, 48, 49, 66, 88, 201, 212.

इ.

इः 227.
इक् 116, 139, 207, 208, 212–214, 22[illegible]
इकप्रकरणात् 225, 226.
इकः 157, 203, 208–210, 212–214, 217, 218, 220–222, 224, 227, 235
इका 21, 2[illegible]
इग्ग्रहणात् 204
इग्लक्षणयोः 233
इग्लक्षणा 225, 226
इच्छन्ति 35.
इच्छिनम् 16.
इजादस्य 215.
इटः 243.
इच्छति 170, 196.
इट [illegible]
इड्विधि [illegible]
इण् [illegible] 79.
इण्ग्रहणम् 171
इण्ग्रहणेषु 163, 170
इत् 83, 97, 98, 147, 168, 185.
इत्यंलिङ्गा 84.
इत्वम् 158
इतरत् 193, 194
इतरथ 190
इतरत्राणाय 193.
इतरथा 127, 181, 186.
इति 6, 11, 16, 23–26, 28, 29, 32, 34, 35, 37, 41–44, 46–49, 51–53, 55–61, 63–67, 69–77, 79–82, 84–86, 88, 89, 91–101, 103, 107–119, 121–128, 131–142, 144–148, 150–157, 159–174, 176–187, 189–192, 195–202, 204–206, 208–210, 212–222, 224–235.
इतिहासः 65.
इदम् 30, 43, 50, 57, 58, 60, 61, 75, 79, 85, 88, 79, 101, 112, 116, 125, 135, 140, 141, 143, 145, 150, 151, 153, 154, 156, 157, 173, 177, 178, 181, 182, 184, 187, 188, 193, 194, 199–201, 212, 217, 226, 228, 231, 235.
इदानीम् 61, 68, 75, 135, 142, 155, 163, 184, 213, 214, 219–221, 224, 233, 234.
इदुतौ 136.

इन्दुकल्याम् 147.
इन्द्रः 121, 126, 201.
इन्द्रम् 149.
इन्द्राय 46.
इन्द्रशत्रुः 26.
इमम् 208.
इमाम् 25, 33.
इमानि 25, 116.
इमे 47, 80, 85, 101, 143, 152, 188 235.
इमौ 142, 171, 201.
इयता 186, 222.
इयम् 24, 60, 122, 125, 183, 192.
इव 25, 28, 32, 39, 151, 171, 214.
इवर्णः 81, 103, 118.
इवर्णोवर्णाभ्याम् 131.
इवर्णोवर्णौ 131.
इष्टम् 80, 81, 218.
इष्टवृद्ध्यर्थम् 174.
इष्टवाची 218.
इष्टाः 80.
इष्टान् 80.
इष्टिम् 41.
इष्यते 76.
इष्यन्ते 81.
इषे 11.
इह 52, 61, 71, 96, 99, 104, 110, 115, 117, 122-124, 1[illegible], 127, 129, 1[illegible], [illegible], 1[illegible]-139, [illegible] 1[illegible], 148 154, 1[illegible], 16[illegible], 168, 1[illegible] 177-180, 183, 187, 192, 1[illegible], 1[illegible], 2[illegible], 215, 216, 218-222, 226, 230, 232.
इहार्थम् 224, 227.

ई.

ईकारः 94.
ईत् 112.
ईळे 11.
ईशा 121.
ईप्सितः 35.
ईहमानानाम् 155.
ईहितव्यम् 215–217.
ईहिता 215–217.
ईहितुम् 215–217.

उ.

उ 149, 159.
उ 114, 133, 166, 167, 169, 222, 234, 235.
उरु 159.
उक्तः 44, 184.
उक्तम् 44, 56, 70, 77, 78, 84, 98, 108, 114, 135, 142, 154, 179, 186, 200, 225.
उक्ता 43, 49, 183.
उक्तानि 44, 49.
उक्ते 44, 76.
उच्चार्य 80.
उच्चार्यम् 83.
उच्चार्यन्ते 86.
उच्चारणम् 80, 99, 117.
उच्चारणक्रियः 80.

उच्चारयेत् 200.
उच्चारितेन 16.
उच्यते 16, 48, 60, 61, 62, 71, 75, 78, 83, 88, 96, 99, 112, 114, 115, 150, 160, 163, 177, 18[illegible], 182 185, 196, 200, 205, 206, 214, 218, 224, 226, 229, 231, 232.
उच्यन्ते 188.
उच्यमानः 206, 207.
उच्यमाने 201.
उत्कृत्य [illegible]1
उत्तमाम् 98
उत्तरकालम् 7[illegible]
उत्तरत्र 115.
उत्तरपदलोप 151
उत्तरपदवृद्धि 179
उत्तरपदवृद्धौ 178, 179.
उत्तरपदस्य 179.
उत्तरपदे 179.
उत्तरभूयस्त्वात् 119.
उत्तरम् 1[illegible]5.
उत्तरस्य 117, 122, 147, 148
उत्तरार्थम् 129, 205, 223, 224, 229.
उत्तरं 77.
उत्तिष्ठ 149.
उत्सृजम् 78.
उत्कृत्य 20[illegible]
उत्पत्तिः 152.
उत्पत्तिमाः 101.
उत्सृज्यन्ते 187.
उत्सर्गः 48, 229.
उत्सर्गस्य 218, 220.
उत्वे 139.
उत्सर्गेण 210.
उत 25, 37, 163.
उद्यते 42.
उदकम् 121, 126, 199, 201.
उदक् 106, 117.
उदवोढ 228.
उदवोढम् 228.
उदवोढाम् 228.
उदात्तः 81, 198, 200.
उदात्तग्रहणम् 200.
उदात्तम् 200.
उदात्तस्य 198.
उदाहरणम् 73, 78, 163.
उदाहरन्ति 183.
उदित् 169, 171.
उदीच्येषु 65.
उदुम्बरपर्णानाम् 30.
उपगीतः 82.
उपचारः 96, 99.
उपचारात् 157, 182, 183.
उपचेतुम् 97.
उपजनः 57, 101, 153, 154.
उपजनविकारैः 154.
उपतापयोः 145.
उपतिष्ठते 201.
उपदिश्यते 138, 174.
उपदिश्यन्ते 43, 45, 95, 112, 12[illegible], 143.
उपदिश्यमानस्य 88, 89, 90.
उपदिश्येत 92, 138, 140.
उपदिश्येरन् 116.
उपदिशति 158, 192, 193.
उपदिशेत् 119.
उपदिष्टः 155, 187, 195.
उपदिष्टा 81, 103.
उपदिष्टाः 80, 138, 187.
उपदिष्टे 44.

उपदिष्टेषु 45.
उपदेशः 79, 80, 81, 86–88, 90, 92, 105, 106, 110–112, 117, 140, 143, 144, 146, 158, 16[illegible], 174.
उपदेशस्य 105, 204.
उपदेशसामर्थ्यात् 206.
उपदेशात् 81, 84, 90.
उपदेशे 105, 140.
उपदेशेन 105.
उपदेष्टव्यः 140.
उपध्मानीयः 143, 144.
उपध्मानीयादेः 144.
उपधा 139, 144, 147, 221.
उपधायाः 168.
उपधासंज्ञा 147.
उपन्यासः 30, 93, 102, 109, 130.
उपपद्यते 72, 74, 76, 226.
उपसर्गात् 145.
उपमर्देन 56.
उपमृष 55, 56.
उपयुक्ता 46.
उपरता 56.
उपरिष्टात् 122, 136.
उपलक्षयितुम् 190.
उपलब्धिः 102.
उपलब्धौ 65.
उपलभ्य 185.
उपलभ्यते 56, 100, 102.
उपलभ्यन्ते 65, 153.
उपलभते 102.
उपविश्य 186.
उपस्थाप्यते 98.
उपस्थितम् 221.
उपसङ्क्रान्ता 213, 214.
उपसर्गाः 33, 35.
उपसर्जः 205.
उपात्तः 53, 54.
उपादाय 58.
उपादीयते 60, 61.
उपादीयमाने 53.
उपायेन 23.
उब्जिः 144.
उब्जिजिषति 144.
उब्जिता 144, 145.
उब्जितुम् 144, 145.
उ३ब्जक 147.
उब्ज 145.
उब्जौ 145.
उभयतः 133.
उभयथा 48, 49.
उभयम् 48, 84, 154, 200, 211, 218.
उभयसंज्ञानि 177.
उभयोः 122.
उभयोपदेशः 44.
उभे 189, 196.
उभौ 109, 171.
उम्भितुम् 203.
उम्भितव्यम् 203.
उम्भिता 203.
उरःकः 148.
उरःकेण 148.
उरᳵकेण 144.
उरःपः 148.
उरःपेण 144, 148.
उरᳶपेण 144.
उरसि 33.
उवङादेशः 240.
उवर्णः 81, 103, 118.
उशती 37.
उष्णम् 199.
उष्ट्रमुखः 151.
उष्ट्रमुखम् 151.
उषिताः 63.

ऊ.

ऊ 159.
ऊकारः 117, 179.
ऊढा 121.
ऊत् 112.
ऊर्मिम् 42.
ऊष्म 61, 63, 66.
ऊष्मशब्दः 156.
ऊहः 21, 22.

ऋ, ॠ.

ऋक्त्वता 177.
ऋक्षः 150.
ऋकारः 114, 115, 133.
ऋकारग्रहणम् 132, 13[illegible]
ऋकारस्य 105, 132, 133.
ऋकारात् 13[illegible], 135.
ऋकाराणाम् [illegible]35.
ऋकारे 111, 132, 169.
ऋच्छति 222.
ऋत्विजः 212, 21[illegible], 214, 2[illegible]1.
ऋत्वोः 213, 222.
ऋत् 1[illegible]6, 16[illegible]
ॠतः 1[illegible]6, 168, 215.
ऋतकः 106, 107.
ऋतकशब्दः 107.
ऋतकशब्दस्य 107.
ऋदृशः 21[illegible].
ऋतोः 12[illegible], 202.
ऋफिडः 107.
ऋफिड्डः 1[illegible]7.
ऋलृक 105, 157.
ऋषयः 71.
ऋषिः 67, 99.
ऋषिसंप्रदायः 64.
ॠ 222.

ऌ.

ऌकारः 10[illegible], 106.
ऌकारम् 111.
ऌकारस्य 105.
ऌकारोपदेशः 105, 106, 115.
ऌतकः 106, 107, 112.
ऌतकाय 106.
ऌफिड्डः 107.
ऌफिडः 107.

ए.

ए 119, 229.
एः 221.
एओङ् 116, 157.
एकः [illegible]7, 52, 66, 85, 100, 102, 1[illegible], 152, 199, 218, 219, 233.
एकम् 10[illegible], 212, 221, 226.
एकागम्यः 39.
एकत्वम् 153.
एकत्वात् 95.
एकदेशः 113.
एकदेशाः 126.
एकम् 191.
एकयोगः 210.

एकयोगे 210
एकवर्णवत् 129.
एकवर्णाः 149, 155.
एकवर्णानाम् 149, 155.
एकवर्णानि 149.
एकविभक्तिकत्वम् 188.
एकविंशतिधा 65.
एकशतम् 65.
एकशेषः 48.
एकस्य 160, 161, 167, 219.
एका 152.
एकात् 95, 96, 98, 99.
एकादेशे 121.
एकाम् 99.
एकारः 118–120, 123, 206.
एकारम् 119.
एकेन 84.
एकैकशः 99.
एकैकस्य 29, 46, 67.
एङ् 177.
एङः 119
एचः 118.
एचि 1'1
एचौ 201.
एणीकृतः 82.
एलका 121.
एत् 116.
एतत् 29, 33, 39, 43, 44, 49, 51, 55, 56, 62, 73, 76, 78, 80, 84, 88–92 94, 97–99, 103, 104, 110, 111, 115, 118, 119, 122, 127–129, 131, 135 137, 144, 145, 147 148, 155, 158, 160, 162, 164–172, 179, 181, 182, 185, 186, 189–193, 198, 200, 201, 204–206, 208, 210, 218, 221, 222, 227, 228, 230, 232–235.
एतस्मिन् 45, 46, 65, 197, 219.
एतस्य 89, 90, 91, 127, 156.
एतान् 62.
एतानि 92, 107, 156, 159, 205.
एतावन्तः 163.
एतावान् 65, 189.
एति 149.
एते 64, 66, 94, 157, 208.
एतेन 58, 92
एतेषाम् 63, 66, 86, 145, 157, 158, 221.
एतैः 135.
एनम् 54, 65, 69.
एनाम् 37.
एभिः 149.
एव 29, 30, 43, 47, 49, 52–59, 61, 65, 67, 68, 70, 71, 73, 75, 78, 84, 88, 90, 91, 93, 94, 97, 103–105, 107, 110, 112, 119, 120, 124, 127, 128, 130, 132, 133–136, 140, 144–146, 148, 154, 156, 159 161, 165 166, 169, 171, 183–186, 188–191, 194, 200–202, 206, 210, 213, 214, 216–218, 220–223, 225–229, 232, 234, 235.
एवम् 16, 29, 30, 42–44, 46, 55, 61, 67–71, 74, 76–78, 81, 83, 84, 88, 89, 92, 97–99, 101, 103, 104, 108, 110, 122, 134, 141, 148,

150, 151, 159, 161, 163, 166, 174, 177-181, 183, 185, 198, 199, 207, 214, 215, 217, 219, 220, 221, 226, 230, 232.
एधकालः 159.
एकजातीयकानि 155, 156.
एकजातीयकेषु 201.
एषः 25, 31, 39, 45, 46, 49, 55, 56, 58, 70, 77, 80, 82, 92, 98, 107, 108, 110, 115, 122, 125, 127, 132, 135, 136, 141, 142, 155, 159, 161, 178-181, 200, 202, 206, 214, 216, 218, 219, 229.
एषा 115, 120, 158, 159, 171.
एषाम् 39, 58, 63, 144.
एषितव्या 226.
एषु 58, 149.

ऐ.

ऐऔच् 116, 157.
ऐकारः 178, 183.
ऐकारस्य 180.
ऐकाग्र्यात् 153.
ऐच् 55, 78, 124, 136, 176, 177, 178, 182, 183, 191, 210.
ऐत् 116.
ऐचोः 119.
ऐची 118.
ऐतिकायनः 121.
ऐ[illegible]तिकायनः 117.
ऐस् 127.
ऐस्भावः 127.

ओ.

ओः 215.
ओकारः 119, 120, 206, 207.
ओकारम् 119.
ओत् 116.
ओदनः 51, 121.
ओम् 43.

औ.

औकारः 178, 183.
औकारस्य 180.
औकारे 123.
औणादिकः 173.
औत् 116.
औतः 201.
औपगवः 121, 149.

क्.

क्ङिति 204, 224, 226, 229.
क्ङित्प्रत्ययेषु 224.
क्तिन् 187.
क्रमगतम् 30.
क्रियताम् 65.
क्रियते 45, 55, 58, 60, 61, 83,

84, 92, 106, 132, 136, 158, 160, 174, 184, 186, 190, 192, 194, 195, 197, 203, 208, 223, 235.
क्रियन्ते 55, 56, 103, 106, 157.
क्रियमाणम् 61.
क्रियमाणे 123, 124, 128, 182, 183, 201.
क्रिया 16.
क्रियाशब्दः 106.
क्रियाशब्दाः 107.
क्रियेरन् 103.
क्रोष्टीयाः 217.
क्व 30, 39, 63, 66, 74, 85, 90, 124, 131, 144, 158, 189, 209, 226.
क्वचित् 56, 134, 143, 223, 229.
क्वस्थस्य 111.
क्सः 139.
क्सविधिः 139.
क्षियण्णः 82.
क्षरति 173.
क्षरन्ति 42.
क्षरम् 173.
क्षिप्रः 214.
क्षिप्रक्षुद्रयोः 213, 222.
क्षिप्रे 212, 213, 221.
क्षीयते 173.
क्षुत् 60.
क्षुद्रः 214.
क्षुद्रे 213, 221.
क्षुभ्नादिषु 135.

क.

कः 16, 29, 30, 51, 55, 61, 67, 68, 72, 80, 89, 92, 95, 105, 113, 114, 116, 123, 125, 126, 128, 138-140, 153, 180, 189, 202, 204, 212, 218, 219, 223, 224.
ककारः 128, 149, 180.
ककारम् 129, 204, 206.
ककारस्य 149, 156.
ककारापाये 149, 150.
ककारौ 136, 137.
ककुदम् 16,
कटकाः 56.
कण्ठः 110.
कण्ठे 39.
कण्ठेन 53.
कण्डूयति 109.
कण्डूयितानि 70.
कण्डूयेत् 109.
कतमस्मिन् 164.
कथयेत् 78.
कथम् 44, 47, 48, 50, 51, 55, 56, 58, 84, 85, 89, 91, 99, 107, 114, 128, 133, 137, 143, 146, 155, 157, 161, 162, 168, 170, 172, 177, 179, 180, 181, 187, 191, 194, 195, 199, 204, 208, 212, 221, 229, 232, 235.
कथञ्चित् 220.
कथञ्जातीयकः 48.
कदली 110.
कदाचित् 118, 161.
कपालात् 61.

कपालानि 67.
कपिलः 16, 77.
कपिलाम् 99.
कपोतः 16.
कम्प 55.
कञ्चन 201.
कमण्डलुः 128, 204.
कम्बोजेषु 65.
कयाचित् 55, 106.
कयोः 97, 188.
कर्णे 192.
कर्णशम् 167
कर्तरि 215.
कर्तव्यः 44, 46, 48, 55, 81, 86, 87, 90, 92, 111, 112, 14[illegible], 14[illegible], 144, 182
कर्तव्यम् 44, 117, 121 124, 126, 131, 138, 139, 140, 151, 169, 207, 213, 223, 224, 226, 229.
कर्तव्याः 235.
कर्तव्ये 198.
कर्ता 163, 215.
कर्तारः 215.
कर्तारौ 215.
कर्तुम् 32, 155.
कर्तृ 166, 235.
कर्म 130, 131.
कर्माणि 48, 71, 95.
कर्षति 163.
कर्हिचित् 28.
करणम् 75, 80, 97, 103.
करणात् 97
करिष्यति 99.
करिष्यते 83, 122, 132, 134, 136, 147, 159, 184, 185, 210, 222, 225, 226.
करिष्यन् 58.
करिष्यामि 58.
करोति 33, 91, 97, 99, 122, 127 1[illegible], 168 170, 196, 198, 200, 201, 204, 206, 222, 232, 234.
करोषि 198.
कल्पः 43.
कल्पनम् 107.
कल्पयितव्यः 107.
कलः 82.
कला 83, 84, 86.
कलाधिकाम् 83.
कश्चित् 48, 64, 68, 90, 98, 106, 149, 150, 155, 162, 192.
कस्मात् 124, 128, 157, 176, 201, 235.
कस्य 227.
कसेः 154.
कस्मैः 39.

·का·

का 79, 145, 189, 193.
काकुदम् 42.
काण्डीरः 150.
कानि 20, 152.
कापट्यः 149.
कामम् 32.
कामचारः 131, 221.
कामधुक् 66.

कामयमाना 37.
कार्यः 49, 52.
कार्यम् 58, 99, 197, 225.
कार्याः 35, 33.
कार्या 58.
कार्याणि 105, 106, 111, 159, 193, 194.
कार्यार्थः 143.
कार्यिणः 190.
कार्यिणो 142.
कार्ये 52.
कार्येण 190.
कार्येषु 51, 106.
कार्षापणम् 104.
कार्षीः 16.
कारकः 179.
कारकेषु 76.
कारणम् 63, 88, 91, 94, 102, 198, 199, 213, 226.
कालः 46, 88, 100.
कालाः 33,
कालानाम् 159.
काशकृत्स्नम् 74.
काष्ठम् 61, 130.

कि.

किञ्चित् 43, 47, 61, 74, 105, 110, 155, 184, 194, 223.
कित्करणम् 128, 204, 205.
कित्करणे 128, 204.
कित्त्वम् 139, 141.
कित्त्वप्रतिषेधः 141.
किति 128, 234.
किम् 16, 30, 43, 44, 48, 49, 53, 57, 58, 61, 63, 66, 69, 72, 73, 75, 76, 78, 79, 83, 87–89, 91, 92, 94, 102, 103, 105, 112, 121, 123, 126, 128, 139, 142, 144–147, 150, 151, 153–155, 157, 160, 164, 167, 171, 173, 174, 178, 180–182, 185–187, 190, 195–203, 208, 212–214, 216, 219, 221, 223, 225, 226, 231, 233, 234.
किमर्थम् 171.
किरिणा 96, 99.

कु.

कुः 134, 176.
कुक्कुटः 44, 59, 136, 159.
कुण्डम् 1[illegible], 181.
कुण्डले 56.
कुण्डिकाः 55.
कुत्वम् 176, 177.
कुतः 29, 33, 39, 51, 55, 63, 80, 94, 100, 125, 149, 153, 154, 158, 164–167, 169, 170, 182, 184, 186, 189, 190, 193, 206, 214.
कुम्भकारः 58.
कुमार्याः 181.
कुमारी 106, 112.
कुर्यात् 41, 99.
कुर्वन् 16.
कुर्वन्तः 25, 67.
कुर्वन्ति 25, 32, 58, 183.
कुर्वीत 183.
कुलम् 58, 103.
कुशलः 29.

कू.

कूटस्थः 101.
कूटस्थम् 57.
कूटस्थेषु 51, 54.
कूटस्थैः 101.
कूपः 71, 149, 155.
कूपम् 71.
कूपस्य 155.
कूपार्थैः 149, 155, 156.
कूपे 149, 155, 156.

कृ.

कृत्यम् 75.
कृत्स्नः 99.
कृत्वा 56, 64, 75, 91, 103, 108, 128, 155, 162, 168, 170, 178, 204, 232.
कृत्स्नायाः 180.
कृतः 22, 41, 68, 192, 193.
कृतम् 41, 44, 95, 187, 200, 221.
कृतै 128.
कृतयत्नः 63, 157.
कृतान्तेषु 183.
कृतानि 152.
कृति 126.
कृत्ने 144, 146, 160, 168, 204, 205, 228, 230, 232, 233.
कृत्नेः 154.
कृप 114.
कृपः 135.
कृंपः 105, 106.
कृष्णः 77.
कृष्णम् 200.
कृष्णाम् 181.

क्लृ

क्लृप्त. 106, 133.
क्लृ३प्तशिख 114, 115.
क्लृप्तवान् 133.
क्लृपिस्थः 112.
क्लृपिस्थस्य 105, 111.
क्लृप्ते 111.

के, कै, को.

के 49, 82, 95, 106, 134, 143, 165.
केचित् 155, 183.
केन 74.
केवलम् 64.
केवलानि 73, 78.
केषाम् 11, 198.
कैः 192.
कौ 93.
कौण्डिन्यः 142.

ख.

खड्गर्व्यः 123.
खड्गा 121, 201.
खड्गादकम् 92.
खड्गाभिः 127.
खड्गेन्द्रः 121, 201.
खड्गपर्णा 121.
खड्गया 201.
खड्गैनिकायनः 121, 201.
खड्गैलका 121, 201.
खड्गोदकम् 121, 201.
खड्गाढा 121, 201.
खड्गोदनः 121, 201.
खड्गोपगवः 121, 201.
खण्डिकोपाध्यायः 198.
खदिराङ्गारः 56.
खनन् 71.
खय् 172.
खयि 172.
खरमुखः 151.
खलु 11, 22, 46, 54, 60, 61, 63, 64, 68, 90, 99, 109, 111, 135, 155, 156, 158, 186, 188, 192.

खा, खे.

खादिरः 60.
खानकः 71.
खानकयत् 71.
खारीशतम् 152.
खेटविषमः 60.
खेटात् 60.

ग्र.

ग्रहस्तः 82.
ग्रहणम् 51 53, 87, 88, 90 92, 94, 115, 122, 125, 126, 132, 146, 157, 159, 170, 178, 179, 197, 199, 201, 207, 208, 212, 213, 214.
ग्रहणस्य 88, 94.
ग्रहणात् 103, 160.
ग्रहणे 70.
ग्रहणेन 87, 103, 126.
ग्रहणेषु 95, 98, 103.
ग्रहीष्यति 81, 103.
ग्राम्यः 44, 59.
ग्राम्यसूकरः 44.
गृह्यति 203.

ग.

गच्छन्ति 209.
गणेन 177.
गत्वा 58.
गता 85.
गतिः 150, 151.
गम्यते 37, 44, 52, 149, 150.
गम्या 60.
गम्यायाम् 60.

34

गमयेत् 30.
गमिम् 65.
गतिकर्मा 65.
गर्भे: 145, 207
गर्गाः 82–84.
गार्ग्यः 196.
गर्दभः 76.
गरीयान् 46.
गरीयांसम् 170.

गा, गि.

गाम् 181, 192.
गाधामुक् 129, 206
गाव्यादयः 44
गाव्यादिषु 45
गाव्यादीन् 108.
गाव. 131.
गावी 29, 46, 67.
गिरिणा 96, 99.

गु.

गुण. 16, 31, 124, 177, 191, 198, 200, 204–207, 209, 210, 21[illegible], 217, 220, 222, 233–235
गुणग्रहणम् 224
गुणग्रहणस्य 223.
गुणम् 71.
गुणविधी 223
गुणभेदात् 194
गुणवृद्धिग्रहणम् 208, 209
गुणवृद्धिग्रहणस्य 208.
गुणवृद्धी 124, 203, 208–210, 215, 217, 218, 220, 235
गुणवृद्ध्योः 226.
गुणशब्दाः 106, 107.
गुणस्य 198, 199.
गुणाः 81, 199, 200.
गुणे 122, 204, 205, 215, 230, 232.
गुणेन 206.
गुणेषु 200, 221.
गुरु 92, 147, 170, 189.
गुरुलघुता 190.
गुरुसंज्ञा 147.
गुरोः 115, 147, 136.
गुहा 35.

गृ.

गृह्णाति 103, 147
गृह्णीयात् 87, 88.
गृह्यते 137.
गृह्यन्ते 132–139.
गृह्यमाणम् 221
गृह्यमाणेन 221.
गृहीत 78.
गृहीत्वा 192.
गृहीतम् 104.

गो.

गोह्यचः 129.
गोल्का 165.
गोग्रहणम् 130.
गोपी 29, 46, 67.
गोला 29, 46, 67.
गोश्काल 117.
गोत्रः 128, 204.
गोपोतलिका 29, 46, 67.

गौ.

गौः 11, 16, 29, 45, 46, 67, 76, 192.
गौधेरः 142.

घ्र, घ.

घ्नन्ति 154.
घटम् 58.
घटस्य 99.
घटिकः 96.
घटिकाः 55.
घटीनाम् 30.
घटेन 58, 96.

घा, घु, घे, घो.

घातकः 154.
घातयति 154.
घृतम् 77.
घे: 215.
घोषवत् 41.

ङ, ङि.

ङञः 172.
ङमुट् 172.
ङमुण् 172.
ङमः 172.
ङमुट् 117.
ङित् 195.
ङिति 205, 215.

च्, च.

च्यौ 94.
च 11, 22 23–25, 29, 30, 32, 33, 35, 41, 43, 45–47, 51, 54–56, 58–61, 63–71, 73, 75, 76, 78, 80, 81, 83–86, 88, 89, 91–96, 98–119, 122, 124, 126, 128–143, 146–152, 154–159, 161, 163, 164–170, 174, 175, 177 181, 183–186, 188–190, 192–194, 196, 198–201, 203–207, 209, 210, 212–214, 216–222, 224–226, 228, 230–235.

चक्र 1, 63, 66
चक्रा 66
चक्षुष्मान् 152.
चक्राकारकरणात् 210
चत्वारः 65
चत्वारि 25, 33, 35
चतुर्थम् 35.
चतुर्थाः 106.
चतुर्भिः 46.
चतुर्मात्राः 121, 124.
चतुर्मात्राणाम् 121, 124.
चतुरक्षरम् 41.
चतुष्पदी 106.
चन्द्रतारकवत् 175.
चपेटाम् 198.
चयनम् 218, 220.
चर्चा 73, 78.
चषालः 183.

चा, चि.

चायकाः 218, 220.
चिनुते 69.
चित्रम् 46.

चे, चो.

चेत् 63, 67, 70, 81, 84, 100, 116, 126, 132, 195, 196, 212–214, 225.
चेष्टन्ते 35.
चेष्टितम् 16.
चोः 176
चोदयते 88, 90, 92, 105, 130, 131, 223.
चोदिताः 75.

छ, छि, छे.

छः 178.
छन्दः 177.
छन्दांसि 136, 177
छन्दोगानाम् 119.
छन्दोवत् 177.
छिन्द्यात् 110.
छिद्रेषु 16.
छिनत्ति 222.
छे 127.

ज.

जकारः 180
जकारेण 172
जातः 66.
ज्ञान 66–68, 70, 71, 86, 175.
ज्ञापकम् 89 92, 97, 127–130, [illegible]5, 162, 168, 170, 204, 206, 232.
ज्ञापकानि 205.
ज्ञापयति 91, 122, 127, 128, 135, 162, 168–171, 200, 204, 205, 232
ज्ञापकार्थः 206.
ज्ञायते 48, 51, 55, 58, 89.
ज्ञेयः 22, 23, 97, 198, 199.
ज्यायः 46.
ज्वलति 28.

ज

जगाम 46.
जटिलः 98.
जनाः 212.
जनैः 205, 206.
जयम् 29, 30.
जर्गृधेः 168.
जरसम् 66.
जलम् 194.
जले 194.
जस्त्वम् 177.
जस्त्वे 144.
जस्भावः 144.
जहाति 199.

जा.

जात्याख्यायाम् 48.
जानस्य 41, 183.
जातिशब्दाः 106, 107.
जानते 39.
जानन्ति 183.
जानाति 29, 67, 70.
जायते 126.
जाया 47.

जि, जी, जु.

जिह्वा 42.
जिह्वामूलीयः 143.
जिहीर्षति 168.
जीरदानुः 142.
जीवति 46.
जीवेः 142.
जुम्नि 215, 221.

झ.

झकारः 172.
झकारपरः 172.
झकारपरयोः 171.
झकारभकारपरे 172.
झकारभकारयोः 172.
झकारभकारौ 172, 173
झकारस्य 171.
झभष् 171.
झरः 162, 163.
झरि 142.
झल्ग्रहणानि 139
झलः 103, 139.
झलि 103.

ञ, ञ.

ञिणानि 223-225.
ञकारः 171, 180.
ञकारेण 171.
ञमङणनम् 171.
ञिति 225.

ट, ड, ढ.

टिलोपः 205.
डः 145.
ड्यप् 205.
डवचनम् 206.
ढ्लोपे 164.
ढलोपः 228.
ढलोपे 228.

ण्, ण, णि.

ण्ड 101.
णः 133, 134, 136.
णकारः 163, 171, 180.
णकारीभवति 157.
णत्वम् 135, 144, 148.
णित् 95.
णिनि 225.
णिच्श्योः 232, 233.
णिच्श्विभ्याम् 232.

त्र.

त्रयः 33, 65, 173.
त्रयाणाम् 180, 201, 205.
त्रयी 107.
त्रिः 98.
त्रिधा 33.
त्रिपुरुषानूकम् 41.
त्रिमात्रम् 121, 124.
त्रिमात्रचतुर्मात्राः 201.
त्रिमात्रचतुर्मात्राणाम् 201.
त्रियकारकम् 161.
त्रिव्यञ्जनः 163
त्रिविष्टब्धकम् 194.
त्रिषु 33
त्रीणि 35
त्व. 25, 7.
त्वरिता. 41.
त्वसै 37.
त्वो. 11

त.

त 124, 202.
तम् 58, 66, 71, 185.
तकारः 125, 201, 202.
तकारे 125, 201, 202.
तकारौ 136, 137.
तल्लोपः 212, 217, 218.
तत् 16, 28 31, 41, 43, 44, 46, 48, 51, 52, 54, 56, 58, 61, 63–67, 69–71, 73, 75–78, 81, 85, 90, 92, 93, 98, 99, 101 105, 108, 109, 115, 122, 124, 126, 130, 134, 142, 145, 151, 152, 155, 159, 162, 163, 170, 174, 177, 178, 183, 185, 187, 189, 190, 192–194, 196, 199–201, 206, 209, 211–214, 218, 223, 224, 226, 231, 233, 235.

तत्कालस्य 197, 202.
तत्कालानाम् 197.
तत्कालेषु 159.
तत्पुरुषः 24.
तत्र 11, 47, 49, 51, 54, 61, 65, 93–95, 98, 99, 123, 126, 139, 146, 148, 153, 155, 156, 160, 163, 169, 170, 186, 189, 190, 192 197, 200, 214, 218, 221.
तत्रभवतः 31.
तत्रभवताम् 120, 183.
तत्रभवन्तः 71.
तत्त्वम् 37, 57.
ततः 24, 71, 75, 86, 122, 134, 136, 145, 159, 162, 168, 192, 204, 205, 209, 210, 212, 220, 222, 225, 226, 232.
ततवत् 39.
तथा 43, 55, 60, 61, 64, 67, 70, 71, 81, 85, 103, 131, 151, 161, 186, 199.
तथाजातीयकाः 122.
तथाजातीयकम् 122.
तद्धितः 74.
तद्धितम् 41.
तद्धिताः 41, 74, 75, 76.
तद्धितार्थः 59.
तद्धितेषु 223.
तद्भावः 57.
तद्भावितग्रहणे 179.
तद्विषयस्य 199.
तद्वत् 58, 103, 154, 209.
तद्वति 179.
तद्वानः 71.
तदपवादः 215, 217, 218.
तदर्थः 151.
तदर्थगतिः 151.
तदर्थस्य 151.
तदर्थेन 112.
तनूनाम् 66.
तव्याख्यम् 61.
तपरः 103, 117, 124, 197, 202.
तपरकरणम् 127, 128, 169, 197.
तपरकरणे 128.
तपराः 103.
तपराणि 116, 118.
तपरे 124, 128.
तपसा 61.
तमर्थम् 30.
तया 99.
तयोः 118, 163, 183.
तर्कः 154.
तर्याण 71.
तर्हि 10, 16, 30, 47, 58, 63, 68, 69, 72–76, 78, 81, 83–85, 89, 93, 95, 97, 107, 114, 115, 118, 122–125, 127 131, 134, 135, 139, 141, 142, 145–147, 150 152, 158, 160, 163–170, 179, 180, 185, 187, 188, 190, 192, 194, 195, 198, 200–202, 206, 207, 214, 215, 221, 226–230, 232, 233, 235.
तपति 96, 129, 148, 215.
तल्लोकम् 93, 137, 160.
तल्लिङ्गम् 184.
तस्मात् 16, 24, 25, 28, 47, 92, 102, 106, 132, 140, 159,

163, 169, 187, 189, 207, 225, 226, 233.
तस्मिन् 106, 226.
तस्मै 198.
तस्य 30, 48, 90, 105, 106, 109–111, 122, 129, 132, 133–137, 144, 151, 160, 162, 185, 192, 193, 195, 199, 213, 218, 220, 222, 228.
तस्याः 229.
तस्याम् 24.

ता.

तात् 124, 202.
तान् 22, 33, 103, 104.
तानि 35.
ताम् 24.
तालु 42.
तावत् 11, 44, 52, 58, 59, 61, 62, 75, 85, 106, 109, 122, 137, 142, 158–160, 163, 173, 181–184, 203–205, 219, 221.
तावत्कार्यः 178, 180.
तावन्ति 58.
तावती 178, 180.

ति. ती

तिष्ठ 112.
तिलक 39.
तिलउना 39.
तिल्वः 152.
तिस्रः 170.
तीर्णा 64.

तु

तु 25, 29, 31, 32, 40, 54, 56, 63, 65, 68, 71, 83, 84, 90, 95, 97, 99, 100, 109, 110, 112, 128, 130, 137, 147, 153, 155, 156, 162, 168, 169, 185, 189, 194, 204–206, 216, 225, 226, 232, 235.
तुष् 126.
तुच्छम् 127.
तुल्यशोकयोः 129, 205.
तुल्यवत् 39.
तुरीयम् 35.
तुल्यः 88, 94, 131, 188.
तुल्यम् 69.
तुल्यजातीयात् 158.
तुल्यजातीयेषु 158.
तुल्यरूपे 136.

तृ, ते.

तृष्णानिशाध्वम् 135.
ते 22, 39, 42, 65, 68, 71, 88, 99, 119, 131, 183, 185, 229, 245.
तेभ्यः 43.
तेर 61.
तेन 42, 71, 88, 97, 118, 134, 149, 153, 159, 183, 185, 200, 216, 218, 233.
तेषाम् 58, 143, 152, 178, 187.
तेषु 32, 86, 208.

तै, तौ.

तैः 71.
तैल्वाने 152.
तौल्वम् 77, 131.
तौ 93, 109, 119, 142, 232.

द.

दृश्यते 55, 66, 101, 134, 196, 198.
दृश्यन्ते 65, 68, 101, 149, 177, 18.
दृशिः 213, 214, 221.
दृष्टोः 222.
दृष्टः 101.
दृष्टम् 75.
दृष्टान्तः 196
दृष्टान्ते 197.
द्रव्यम् 16, 48, 55, 56.
द्रव्यवत् 96, 99.
द्रव्यान्तरस्था 56.
द्रव्ये 55.
द्रव्येषु 130.
द्रष्टव्यः 52, 151, 193.
द्रष्टव्यम् 221.
द्रष्ट 102.
द्व्यक्षरम् 41.
द्व्यचः 129.
द्व्यच्लक्षणः 129, 130.
द्योतितम् 156.
द्यौः 51.
द्वयोः 91, 97, 128, 117, 188, 189, 204, 219.
द्वि 112, 163, 171
द्विकार्ययुक्तः 218.
द्विकार्ययोगः 218, 219.
द्विगमाः 85.
द्वितीया 221.
द्वियकारकम् 161.
द्विर्वचनम् 106, 112, 117, 140, 142, 144, 147, 148, 160, 162, 163.
द्विर्वचनप्रतिषेधम् 162.
द्विर्वचनस्य 110, 142.
द्विर्वचनसामर्थ्यात् 163.
द्विर्वचने 142, 160, 161, 163.
द्विव्यञ्जनविधिः 136.
द्विव्यञ्जनाश्रयः 136.
द्विप्राप्ति 85.
द्विलक्षणम् 132.
द्विलक्ष्ः 132.
द्वे 93, 117, 148.
द्वौ 75, 136, 137, 219.

ध.

ध 161.
धक्षिणाः 99.
धकारः 125, 202.
धकारे 125, 202.
धकारोपधः 145.
धकारोपधे 144.
धृष्णः 100.
धृष्णुयन्ताम् 196.

दृष्टयन्ति 196.
दृष्टेन 181.
दृष्टः 52.
दृष्ट्वा 99.
दृष्टान् 10[illegible]
दृष्टौ 37.
ददाति 10[illegible], 1[illegible].
दधि [illegible], 157, [illegible], [illegible].
दध्नः 199.
दर्भपवित्रपाणि. 1[illegible]
दर्शनम् 99.
दर्शनात् 100.
दर्शने 152.
दर्शयति 233.
दश 181.
दशाभ्याम् 25, 41.
दशाभ्युत्तरकालम् 41
दहति 42.
दहनकर्मा [illegible]
दाक्षिणात्याः [illegible]
दाडिमानि 181.
दानम् [illegible]
दाति [illegible]

दि, दी.

दिग्विभाग 1[illegible].
दिव्यम् 46.
दिशि. [illegible].
दीर्घ [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], 117, 121, 122, [illegible], 12[illegible], 1[illegible], 1[illegible], 1[illegible], 165.
दीर्घग्रहणम् 120; 1[illegible]4.
दीर्घप्लुतौ 93.
दीर्घत्वम् 122, 126
दीर्घवचनात् 12[illegible]
दीर्घप्रयत्न 64.
दीर्घप्राण 64.
दीर्घान्त 12[illegible], 1[illegible], 1[illegible].
दीर्घे 126, 127.
दीर्घस्य [illegible]

दु.

दुर्गः 39.
दुर्गाचार्यः 39.
दुष्कुलम् 147
दुष्टः 25, 26.
दुष्टान् 26.
दुष्पीतम् 147.
दुष्यति [illegible], 80.

दे.

देवः 33.
देवदत्तः [illegible], 1[illegible], 10[illegible], 181, 1[illegible], 184, 190, [illegible], 1[illegible]9
देवदत्तम् 98.
देवदत्तशब्दः 1[illegible]
देवदत्ता3 192.
देवविष्णवः 108.
देवेन्द्रः 141.
देवीः 11.
देवेन [illegible]
देश [illegible], 100, 102.
देशाः 102.
देशान्तरे 64
देशान्तरेषु 64.
देहि 106.

दो.

दोषः 70, 71, 76–78, 95, 97, 98, 108, 115, 122-124, 127, 132, 135, 136, 139, 141, 142, 154, 179, 180, 200, 206, 214, 216.
दोषवान् 192.
दोषसमुच्चयः 214.
दोषाः 49, 82.
दोषाय 70, 109.

ध्, ध.

ध्मातः 82.
ध्यानधर्म्मः 39.
ध्रुवम् 57.
ध्वनिः 16.
धनम् 153.
धनुःषु 146.
धनूंषि 146.
धर्मः 22, 49, 64, 66-68, 70, 71
धर्मनियमः 58, 61.
धर्मप्रयोजनः 58.
धर्मम् 70.
धर्मस्य 61.
धर्माय 58.
धर्मार्थः 58.

धा, धी.

धातवः 85, 149.
धातुः 91, 92, 95, 149, 155.
धातुग्रहणम् 168, 169.
धातुग्रहणस्य 168.
धातुभिः 86.
धातुषु 85.
धात्वति 85.
धीरः 39.

न.

न्यकुटीत् 234.
न्यदारीत् 230.
न्यघुर्णीत् 229.
न्यनुर्वीत् 229.
न्यपुटीत् 233.
न्यमार्ट् 225.
न्यस्तारीत् 230.
न्याय्यः 55, 56, 63, 107.
न्याय्यभावात् 107.
न्याय्यम् 154, 200.
न्याय्यस्य 107.
न्यासः 136.
न्यासम् 84.
न्यासेन 170.

न.

न 16, 22–25, 28, 30–33, 35, 37, 41, 43, 46, 51–54, 56–58, 61–65, 68, 70–78, 80, 82, 83, 88–94, 96 103, 106–109, 112, 115, 117, 120, [illegible], [illegible]–137, [illegible], 141–14[illegible], 14[illegible], 147, [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible]–15[illegible], 157 173, 176–182, 184 190, 19[illegible]–[illegible], 196–206, 208, 210, 214, 216–221, 223, 226–233, 235.

नः 1[illegible].

नकारान्तः 115.

नकारान्तस्य 115.

नन्द्राः 144.

ननु 51, 56, 63, 68, 70, 73, 77, 78, 84, 98, 103, 114, 118, 112, 124, 128, 135, 142, 164 167, 1[illegible], 1[illegible], 184, 196, 199, 202, 220.

नयति 215.

नयेत् 30.

नरः 66.

नलोपादीनि 153.

नवधा 65.

ना

नार्थिकतम् 69.

नादः 43.

नाना 97.

नाभः 31.

नाम 6, 16, 30, 33, 35, 41, 60, 61, 68, 71, 92, 99, 106, 183, 190, 208, 229.

नार्लमति 135.

नावम् 194.

नावि 193.

नासिका 171.

नि.

निराद्रिताः 22.

नियातः 112.

नित्य 33, 49, 51 55, 161, 162, 167.

नित्यम् 57, 58, 138, 172.

नित्यलक्षणम् 57.

नित्यशाब्दाः 53, 54.

नित्यशाब्दत्वात् 194.

नित्या 55.

नित्याः 101, 194, 195.

नित्ये 162, 163.

नित्येषु 101, 194.

निपातनात् 145.

निपातस्यस्य 91.

निपाताः 33, 35, 149, 155.

निपातानाम् 149, 155.

निपातव्यौ 232.

निमिपन्ति 35.

निमित्तम् 129, 142, 180, 206.

निमिषितम् 16.

नियतविषयाः 65.
नियमः 45, 58, 60, 61, 67, 69, 71, 208, 216–218, 220.
नियमम् 67.
नियमस्य 218.
नियमात् 202, 216, 217.
नियमार्थम् 132, 155, 236.
नियमे 150.
नियोगतः 131.
निग्राहः 102.
निपातनिष्यते 71.
निर्णयः 49.
निर्दिश्यते 133, 201, 221, 228, 231.
निर्दिश्यमानस्य 148.
निर्दिष्टः 122.
निर्देश्यन्ते 113, 114
निर्देशः 14, 133, 151, 221.
निर्देशे 94.
निर्देशम् 41
निर्वृत्तौ 58.
निर्ह्रियते 71.
निरनुनासिकाः 93.
निरस्तः 82.
निवर्त्यन्ते 84.
निवर्तकः 108.
निवर्तकम् 195.
निवर्तकत्वात् 195.
निवर्तते 185.
निवर्तन्ते 76.
निवर्तयति 108.
निवर्तयन्ति 75.
निवृत्तम् 84, 209, 211.
निवृत्तिः 84, 92, 185, 195, 235, 245.
निष्कारणः 22
निष्कृतम् 147
निर्गतम् 147.
निहिता 35, 39.
निहितानि 35.

नी, नु

नीलः 16, 77.
नु 92, 186.
नुट् 132.
नुविधिः 132.
नुम् 146.
नुम्ग्रहणम् 146.
नुम्भिः 134.
नुमः 146

नृ, ने, नो, नौ.

नृनमनशब्दम् 135.
नेदि 228, 229, 240
नो 134, 136.
नौः 193, 194.
नौका 165.
नौग्रहणम् 130.
नौशब्दात् 117.

प.

प्रकृत्य 179, 181.
प्रकृतम् 115, 209, 216.
प्रकृतापवादः 210.
प्रकृतस्य 216.
प्रकृतिः 112.
प्रकृतिपाठे 187.
प्रकृतिवत् 112.
प्रकृष्टः 106, 220.
प्रक्लृप्तिः 93, 97, 98.
प्रकल्पयन्ते 193.
प्रकल्पयति 93.
प्रकल्पयेत् 93.
प्रकारैः 46.
प्रगीतः 82.
प्रगृह्यः 112.
प्रगृह्यम् 112.
प्रगृह्याः 166.
प्रचलन्ति 126.
प्रचलन् 126.
प्रज्ञानेन 39.
प्रजल्पितः 54.
प्रणयन्ति 186.
प्रत्यक्षधर्माणः 71.
प्रत्यङ् 106, 117.
प्रत्यभिवादे 81.
प्रत्ययः 91, 149, 155, 173, 187.
प्रत्ययाः 85, 86, 149.
प्रत्ययेषु 85, 195.
प्रत्ययत्रयस्य 196.
प्रत्ययौ 167.
प्रत्याख्यानपक्षः 119.
प्रत्याख्यायते 104, 119.
प्रत्याख्यायेत 115.
प्रत्यापत्तिः 83, 89, 90.
प्रत्याख्यः 185.
प्रत्याख्यन्ते 183.
प्रत्याहारः 80.
प्रत्याहारग्रहणानि 171.
प्रत्याहारग्रहणे 170.
प्रत्याहारार्थाः 157.
प्रत्याहारे 91, 167.
प्रत्युदाहरणम् 73, 78.
प्रत्युपदेशः 206.
प्रत्यूषम् 130.
प्रत्येकम् 195, 196, 197.
प्रत्येकग्रहणम् 195.
प्रथमम् 163.
प्रति 15[illegible].
प्रतिघातार्थम् 60.
प्रतिष्ठन्ति 52.
प्रतिप्रणवम् 141.
प्रतिपदलक्ष्याः 47.
प्रतिपत्तिः 53, 54, 171.
प्रतिपत्तुम् 1[illegible]7.
प्रतिपत्तौ 46, 47.
प्रतिपद्यन्ते 73, 78.
प्रतिपद्यामहे 73.
प्रतिपद्येरन् 47.
प्रतिपदपाठः 46, 47.
प्रतिपदाख्यातानाम् 46.
प्रतिमण्डलः 175.
प्रतिवर्णम् 153.
प्रतिविहितः 181.
प्रतिषिद्धलक्षणम् 41.
प्रतिषिद्धे 229.
प्रतिषिध्यते 228, 233.
प्रतिषेध्यः 126.
प्रतिषेध्यम् 141.

प्रतिषेधः 81, 84, 115, 126, 140, 142, 144, 148, 162, 163, 226, 229, 230, 232, 233.
प्रतिषेधम् 224.
प्रतिषेधवचनम् 162.
प्रतिषेधाः 147.
प्रतिषेधार्थः 162.
प्रतिहन्तुम् 60.
प्रतीतपदार्थकः 16, 189.
प्रतीतपदार्थकयोः 189.
प्रतीयन्ते 183.
प्रथन्ते 54, 191.
प्रथमाम् 98.
प्रधानम् 22.
प्र[illegible]
प्र[illegible]
प्र[illegible]
प्रमाणभूतः 186.
प्रमाणम् [illegible], 31, 58, 70.
प्र[illegible]काः 70.
प्रमाणीकरणम् 185.
प्रयत्नः 6[illegible], 88, 94.
प्रयत्नम् 88.
प्रयत्नाः 68.
प्रयत्नेन 68, 186.
प्रयत्नौ 94.
प्रयाजाः [illegible]2.
प्रयुक्तः 54.
प्रयुक्तम् 106
प्रयुञ्ज्महि 26.
प्रयुङ्क्ते 25, 29, 54, 69, 110, 191.
प्रयुयुक्षमाणः 58.
प्रयुज्य 41
प्रयुज्यते 6.
प्रयुज्यन्ते 63, 64.
प्रयुञ्जते 58, 59, 63, 65, 71
प्रयुञ्जानः 61.
प्रयुञ्जीत 110.
प्रयोक्ष्ये 58.
प्रयोक्तव्याः 187.
प्रयोक्तव्ये 59, 66, 71.
प्रयोगः 64, 66, 105.
प्रयोगनियमः 187
प्रयोगनियमार्थम् 187
प्रयोगात् 61, 63.
प्रयोगान्यत्वात् 63.
प्रयोगे 62, 66,168, 69.
प्रयोगेण 102.
प्रयोजनम् 43, 79, 83, 84, 87–91, [illegible]4, 10[illegible], 10[illegible], 112, [illegible], 1[illegible], 127 12[illegible], 140, [illegible]1, 14[illegible] 148, 1[illegible], 16[illegible], 1[illegible]1, 196-199, 201-205, 222, 223, [illegible].
प्रयोजनानि 20, 25, 44, 49, 107.
प्रयोजने 92
प्रलय 126.
प्रवक्ता 46.
प्रवचनकालेन 47.
प्रवर्ग्यः [illegible]
प्रवर्ग्यम् 4[illegible].
प्रविश्य 4
प्रवीणाः 68
प्रवृत्त. 7[illegible], 77.
प्रवृत्तम् 50
प्रवृत्ताः 77.
प्रवृत्तिः 60, 79, 91, 106, 107, 122, 127, 128, 135.
प्रविष्टनिर्देशः 222.
प्रसक्तस्य [illegible]9
प्रसक्ता 1[illegible]
प्रसङ्गः 224.

प्रसज्येत 123, 157, 167, 168, 171, 172, 179, 222.
प्रसारणे 115, 234.
प्रह्व्यः 85, 235.
प्रस्कन्दनम् 76.
प्रहसितः 54.
प्राक् 97, 159.
प्राङ्मुखः 186.
प्राच्य 65.
प्राच्येषु 65.
प्रात. 140.
प्रातिपदिकम् 91, 149, 152, 155.
प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा 152.
प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञायाम् 156
प्रातिपदिकानि 86, 149.
प्रातिपदिकात् 152.
प्रातिपदिकेषु 85.
प्रादेशमात्रम् 130.
प्रादेशमात्री: 130.
प्राधान्येन 19, 158.
प्रमाः 86.
प्राप्नुवन्ति 99, 152, 159, 206, 208.
प्राप्नोति 67, 73, 89, 94 96, 99, 113 115, 117, 122, 126, 127, 132, 134, 139-142, 144, 145, 148, 159, 168, 169, 173, 177-180, 200, 203, 206, 207, 209, 213-218, 220, 225, 227-231, 233-235.
प्राप्नोतिः 29.
प्रायश्चित्तीयाः 41.
प्रायश्चित्तीयाम् 41.
प्रीणिताः 85.
प्रोक्तम् 74.
प्रोक्ताः 74.
प्रोक्तादयः 74-76.
प्रयाच 46.
प्लक्षः 148.
प्लक्षेभ्यः 219.
प्लुत्याद्यर्थः 105, 106.
प्लुत्यादयः 106, 1 3.
प्लुत्यादि 115.
प्लुत्यादिषु 117.
प्लुतः 92, 114, 117, 147, 159, 164, 165.
प्लुतसंज्ञा 117.
प्लुतानाम् 81.
प्लुतिः 106.
प्लुतिम् 31.
प्लुतौ 92, 136.

ब

बकयन्तः 63.
बह्वान्तरैः 108.
बकारौ 136, 137.
बधन्ति 122.
बध्नन्तु 112.
बधेरन् 142.
बभ्रु 44.
बभ्रुनखाः 44.
बह्वागमाः 173.
बध्यते 144, 145.
बध्यन्ते 85, 86.
बदति 105, 135, 223.

पठन्ति 24, 32, 41, 43, 217.
पठितः 214.
पठितम् 60, 75.
पठितव्यम् 150
पठितव्याः 46, 181.
पठितानि 48.
पठ्ये 37.
पतितः 30, 109, 110.
पदजातानि 33, 35.
पदम् 152.
पदशः 33
पदस्य [illegible]4, 176.
पदस्थता 152.
पदान्तस्य 167, 168.
पदान्तयोः 172.
पदान्ता 166.
पदान्तात् 127
पदान्तौ 172, 174.
पदानि 35, 52, 73, 78, 187.
पदार्थे 48, 51, 56, 72.
पदार्थकः 110, 112.
पदार्थम् 55, 58.
पदार्थैः 55.
पद्याः 208.
पयः 110.
पयोग्रनः 60.
पर्यवसिषुः 215, 220.
पर्यायः 51–54.
पर्युपयुक्तम् 47.
परः 71, 124, 138, 140, 163, 202.
परत्र 29, 30
परम् 134, 147, 169, 192, 218.
परकीये 128.
पररूपेण 204, 205, 207.
परलोपस्य 128.
परशब्दः 218.
परस्मैपदेषु 229
परस्य 124, 128, 160.
परसवर्णः 140, 160.
परसवर्णत्वम् 160.
परसवर्णयोः 142.
परसवर्णस्य 140, 142, 160.
परसवर्णे 160.
पराभूताः 71.
[illegible]: 25, 67.
पराभावात् 164–167
परिभाषया 217.
परिभाषा 171.
परिपचनम 9
परिपालयिष्यन्ति 21.
परिभाषान्तरम् 217.
परिममार्जतुः 226.
परिममृजतुः 226.
परिमार्जन्ति 226.
परिमार्जन्तु 226.
परिमृजापनुदो 129, 205.
परिमृजन्ति 226.
परिमृजन्तु 226.
परिवेषणम् 142.
परिवृता 39.
परिसमाप्यन्ते 196
परिहारः 108, 130, 159.
परिहारम् 156.
परिहाराः 168.
परिहारेण 185.
परिहाय 171.
परिहृतम् 78, 84, 99.
परीक्षितम् 49.
परे 164–167, 187.
परेण 153 166, 169–171.
परोपकारिता 190, 191.

परोपदेशः 142.
परोपदेशे 138, 142.
पलालपिण्डः 181.
पलाशाः 86.
पलायः 85.
पश्च. 124, 202
पश्चात् 101.
पश्य 149.
पश्यति 37, 54, 128, 162, 168, 204, 205, 232.
पश्यन् 37.
पश्यामः 188.
पशुः 61.
पशुम् 122.
पञ्चालाः 77.

पा.

पाठः 84.
पाठात् 82.
पाठे 83, 84.
पाणिः 145.
पाणिनिना 74.
पाणिनीयम् 74.
पाणिनेः 50.
पात्रम् 187.
पादाः 33.
पांसुभिः 71.
पार्श्वात् 120.
पार्श्वयोः 168.

पि.

पिण्डः 55, 56.
पिण्डाकृतिम् 55.
पित्तम् 136.
पितरः 85.
पिता 181.
पिति 126.
पितृणाम् 133, 168, 169.
पिप्पली 136.
पिबतः 109.
पिबति 109, 110.
पिबेत् 30, 109, 110.

पी. पु.

पीतम् 80.
पु 134.
पुंसि 221.
पुगन्धः 221.
पुगन्नस्य 217.
पुगन्नलभृगपक्षस्य 213, 214, 216, 221.
पुगन्नलभृगपक्षग्रहणम् 216.
पुगन्नलभृगपक्षम् 222
पुगन्नलभृगपक्षे 221.
पुगन्ने 212, 213.
पुगन्नाक्षस्य 221.
पुण्यफलावाप्तिः 175
पुत्रस्य 25, 41, 183.
पुनः 20, 30, 39, 43, 46, 48–51, 53, 55–58, 66, 67, 70, 71, 76, 77, 79, 82, 84, 88, 93, 94, 97, 101, 102, 105, 106, 11., 114, 125, 132, 133, 136, 138, 142-144, 152, 170, 171, 173, 178, 182, 183, 185, 186, 194, 198–200, 206, 208, 212, 223, 227, 229, 233, 234.

पुलस्त्यः 39.
पुंवद्भावप्रतिषेधः 178, 180.
पुंसु 146.
पुमः 172.
पुरस्तात् 75, 101.
पुरा 43.
पुराणम् 65.
पुरुषः 11, 46, 62, 139.
पुरुषेण 22.
पुरोहितम् 11.
पुष्पितः 175.

पू.

पूर्वः 1 2, 138, 140, 163, 218.
पूर्वके 70.
पूर्वग्रहणम् 122, 222.
पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वम् 24.
पूर्वपदलोपः 52.
पूर्वपरयोः 122.
पूर्वम् 69.
पूर्वरूपे 229.
पूर्वस्य 158, 160, 164.
पूर्वसूत्रे 174.
पूर्वापेक्षः 214.
पूर्वे 77.
पूर्वेण 163–166, 169-171.
पूर्वैः 192.
पूर्वोक्तः 156.
पूर्वोच्चारितः 190, 191.
पूर्वोपदेशाः 139, 141.
पूर्वोपदेशे 139, 141.

पृ, पे.

पृथक्त्वम् 100.
पृथक्त्वेषु 100, 102.
पृथिवी 51.
पृणन्ति 24.
पेच 61, 63.

फ, फि.

फलम् 68.
फलवता 68.
फलवन्तः 69.
फलवान् 22.
फलात् 68.
फलितः 175.
फिम् 178.
फिषफिट्टौ 107.

ब्र.

ब्रह्म 66, 174.
ब्रह्मचारिणः 175.
ब्राह्मण्या 106.
ब्राह्मणः 11, 46, 60, 139.
ब्राह्मणम् 30, 109.
ब्राह्मणाः 142.
ब्राह्मणी 106, 112.
ब्राह्मणाः 35, 43.
ब्राह्मणेन 22, 23, 25.
ब्रूमः 62, 90, 123.
ब्रूयात् 127, 164, 165, 166, 169.

ब

बद्धः 33.
बभुक्षुः 71.
बलवत्तरः 158.
बलीयः 94.
बहवः 29, 46, 67, 102.
बहिरङ्गम् 135.
बहिरङ्गा 135.
बहुधा 65.
बहुलम् 76.
बहुव्रीहिः 24.
बहुसूत्रम् 181.

बा. बि, बु., बृ. बै.

बाधः 88
बाहुल्यम् 65
बाहु 174
बिन्दुः 82 84
बुद्धिः 80, 81, 102.
बृहस्पतिः 46.
बैल्वः 60.

भ, भा.

भ्रमति 229
भ्राजाः 30
भः 45
भक्षः 134.
भक्ष्य. 44
भक्ष्यम् 60
भक्ष्याः 44.
भक्ष्यनियमः 14.
भक्ष्यनियमेन 14.
भक्षयति 52.
भकारः 172.
भकारस्य 171.
भकारपरः 172.
भकारपरयोः 171.
भगवतः 50
भजनात् 177
भद्र 39
भद्रम् 39
भद्रकर्ण 140.
भव 98.
भवः 71
भवत् 62.
भवतः 56, 66, 68, 78, 104, 117, 148, 195, 217.
भवता 155.
भवति 16, 22, 33, 39, 41, 46, 47, 55, 56, 60, 61, 65, 66, 68, 70, 71, 73, 76, 78, 83. 84, 91–95, 98, 100, 104, 108–110, 112, 113, 122, 126–130, 132–136, 144, 146–148, 150, 157–161, 163 165, 168, 170, 175–177, 185, 187–189, 192–195, 197, 199–201, 203–206, 210, 215, 218–222, 225–230, 232, 235.

भवन्ति 43, 54, 69, 85, 88, 98, 108, 124, 130, 134, 148, 154, 166, 177, 190, 191, 196, 201, 212, 229
भवान् 61, 63, 90, 185, 231.
भवितव्यम् 68, 100, 101, 154, 161, 190, 193.
भवितुम् 30, 105, 155, 186, 223
भविष्यते 33.
भविष्यतः 93, 94, 173.
भविष्यति 54, 71, 77, 82, 90, 98, 99, 105, 127, 128, 158, 159, 162, 168, 177, 182, 185, 204, 207, 216, 221, 228, 230-232.
भविष्यन्ति 111, 113, 132, 148.
भवे 74-76.
भवेत् 99, 112, 159, 216.
भसंज्ञा 177.

भा.

भाषा 52
भार्या 178, 180.
भाष्यन्ते 178, 193, 194.
भाष्यम् 100.
भावः 127.
भावाः 58
भावात् 52, 107.
भावितग्रहणम् 178.
भावेन 77.
भावेषु 51, 54.
भाषन्ते 65.
भाषितः 65.
भासः 178, 179.

भि.

भिद्यते 192.
भिद्येत 192.
भिन्नः 88.
भिन्नस्य 88.
भिन्नाः 65.
भिन्नाम् 83.
भिन्नेषु 16.
भिन्नौ 94.
भिनत्ति 222.
भिसः 127.

भु.

भुक्तम् 77.
भुङ्क्ते 104.
भुज्यते 142.
भुजन्युब्जौ 145.
भुजिः 196.

भू.

भूत 86, 118, 128, 129, 134, 146, 160, 168, 222, 224, 226, 227, 229-232.
भूत्वा 43.
भूतः 33.
भूताम् 92.

भूम 25, 32, 41.
भूयः 25, 111, 188.
भूयसा 71.
भूयात् 29, 67.
भूयांसः 29, 67.
भूयिष्ठः 155.
भुवन् 121, 201.

भृ, भे, भो.

भृगूणाम् 61.
भेदः 161.
भेदकल्यात् 198, 199.
भेदकाः 198, 200.
भेदात् 88, 91.
भोः 30, 51, 119, 194.
भोक्ष्यन्नाम 142, 196
भोक्ष्यामहे 80.

म्.

म्लायति 208.
म्लेच्छः 25.
म्लेच्छितमवै 25.

म.

मकारेण 171.
मगधेषु 104.
मङ्गलादीनि 54, 191.
मङ्गलार्थम् 54, 191.
मङ्कः 86.
मण्डलम् 30.
मण्डूकगतयः 209.
मण्डूकाः 209.
मत्वा 48, 55, 58, 217.
मत्सरः 68.
मधुपायाम् 100, 104.
मध्येषु 65.
मधु 106, 111, 157, 233.
मन्त्रम् 61.
मन्त्राः 22.
मन्द्रस्वः 205.
मन्यंत 110, 156.
मन्यन्ते 107.
मन्यामहे 52, 100, 149, 150, 152, 154, 156.
मन्ये 30, 100, 110.
मनसः 35
मनसा 39.
मनीषिणः 35.
मनुष्याः 33, 35.
मनुष्येषु 35.
मयद् 178.
मर्यान् 33
मरणधर्माणः 33
मवीत् 231.
मह. 33
महत् 30.
महतः 47, 54, 115, 191.
महती 33, 53, 186.
महान् 33, 65, 138.
महीयते 175.
महोरस्केन 148.

मा.

मा 6, 25, 26, 28, 32, 41, 86, 92, 118, 121, 128, 129, 134, 146, 160, 168, 196, 201, 222, 224, 226, 227, 229, 232.
माङ्गलिकः 54, 191
माठरः 142
माण्डव्यः 215.
माणवकः 16.
मातापितरौ 175, 183.
मातॄणाम् 133, 168, 169
माचम् 90.
माचस्य 178.
माचा 118.
माचाः 170.
माचाकालः 137.
माचिक 217.
माचिकम् 187
मान्सम् 31.
मांसपिण्ड· 190.
मांसादिभिः 60.
मांसाशीति 60.
मांसपिण्डस्य 184, 190.
मार्गः 39.
मार्जिः 195.
मार्ष्टि 218
माल्यगुणकण्ड· 110.
मालीयः 178.
मालस्थैः 123.
माल्याभिः 127.
मालाखण्डम् 92.

मि, मु.

मिथ्याप्रयुक्तः 26.
मिद् 211.
मिदि 212–214, 221.
मिदे· 213, 214, 221.
मुखम् 151, 171.
मुखमुत्सार्य· 125, 202.
मुण्डी 199.
मुहूर्तम् 230.

मृ.

मृगः 11, 46.
मृजि· 195, 212–214, 221.
मृजिप्रभृतौ 195.
मृजिवृद्धिः 195.
मृज्यर्थम् 224, 225.
मृजेः 195, 213, 224–226.
मृत् 55.
मृदा 71.
मृष. 224, 226
मृष्टवान् 224, 226.
मृष्यताम् 191.

मे.

मे 66.
मेद्यत. 219, 220
मेद्यति 218–220.
मेद्यन्ति 219, 220.

य्वोः 170.
यः 25, 29–31, 33, 46, 52, 61, 67, 69, 71, 78, 90, 95, 105, 109, 110, 122, 125, 146, 147, 149, 155–157, 180, 200, 221.
यकारस्य 149.
यकारवकाराभ्याम् 140.
यथागतेन 22.
यजुषः 183, 196.
यजनम् 119.
यजते 69, 109.
यजमानम् 35.
यजेत 109.
यजेरन् 142.
यज्ञम् 171.
यत्रि 171.
यत्नु 157.
यणः 93.
यणाम् 93.
यणादिपरम् 222.
यणाम् 234.
यत् 16, 25, 26, 35, 51, 57, 58, 60–63, 66, 70, 71, 75, 78, 83, 89, 91, 93, 97–100, 104, 110–112, 122, 127–129, 131, 134, 135, 143, 155, 158, 162, 163, 168, 170, 180, 182, 183, 184, 186, 189, 200, 204, 206, 213, 214, 218, 219, 222, 232, 233.
यतः 22, 58, 60, 92, 192.
यतम् 58, 170, 201.
यत्नात् 210.
यत्नार्हम् 192.
यत्नेन 47, 84.
यत्र 39, 94, 98, 103, 123, 131, 137, 170, 174, 189, 196, 224, 228, 233.
यत्न 175.
यत्रा 16.
यथा 16, 26, 29, 33, 44, 46, 48, 51, 52, 54, 58, 59, 61, 64, 67, 69, 70, 76, 77, 83–85, 87, 88, 91, 93, 98, 99, 101, 103, 106, 108, 109, 112, 122, 126, 128, 130–133, 138, 139, 142, 144, 146, 148, 151, 152, 154, 155, 159, 161, 177, 181, 183, 186, 187, 190, 191, 196, 197, 199–201, 204, 205, 209, 210, 214, 215, 221, 222, 224, 227, 235.
यथाजातीयकः 123.
यथाजातीयकम् 122.
यथान्यासम् 116, 140, 185.
यथायथम् 22.
यथावत् 29.
यदृच्छया 106.
यदृच्छार्थः 105, 106.
यदृच्छाशब्दः 107.
यदृच्छाशब्दाः 106, 107.
यद्वानः 71.
यनि 92.
यमः 143, 163.
यमाम् 161, 171.

यमि 161, 167, 171.
यद्ग्रहणेन 160.
ययः 183.
ययि 140.
यर्ग्रहणेन 160.
यर्वाण. 71
यरः 117, 140, 148, 163.
यल्लौकिकम् 93, 137, 160.
यवः 124, 202.
यवागूः 51.
यवागूव्रतः 60.
यस्मात् 124, 202.
यस्मिन् 53, 57, 186.
यस्मै 193.
यस्य 42, 72, 92, 94, 118, 134, 133, 135, 137, 178, 180, 206.
यस्या 24

या.

या 179.
याज्ञिका 24, 32, 41, 64, 184.
याते 71.
याता 85, 127, 203, 213, 234, 235.
याथातथ्यम् 71.
यान्तानाम् 232.
यानि 86, 171.
यावत् 159.
यावता 51, 54, 160, 221, 224
यावदर्थः 178, 180

यु.

युक्त 56, 59, 218, 219.
युक्तम् 55, 93.
युक्ता 55.
युगपत् 91, 99, 100, 102.
युज्यते 69, 109.
युज्यन्ते 155.
युज्येत 68
युवा 199.

यू.

यूपः 60, 61, 155, 183.
यूपस्य 155, 156.
यूपार्थः 149, 155, 156.
यूपे 149, 155, 156.
यूयम् 63.

ये, यो.

ये 31, 35, 58, 66, 68, 94, 104, 131, 134, 178, 183, 208.
येन 16, 47, 71.
येषाम् 88, 152, 173.
येषु 63
योक्ष्यन्ते 68.
योगः 71, 74, 159, 218, 219, 220.
योगयोः 163
योगविभागः 122, 134, 136, 159, 222, 226.
योगविभागम् 127.
योगविभागात् 225.
योगाः 235.
योगौ 235.

र.

रः 114, 133, 167.
रक्षा 21.
रक्षार्थम् 21.
रथेन 140.
रघानुः 142.
रपरः 166.
रपरत्वम् 167, 168.
रपरत्वे 168, 230.
रपरे 234, 235.
रलः 139, 141.
रत्वप्रतिषेधात् 115
रश्रुते 1[illegible]3.
रषाभ्याम् 133, 134.
रहति: 65.
रहाभ्याम् 162.
रहौ 142.

रा. रि.

रागः 113, 114, 218.
राजकीयम् 113, 114, 218.
राजन्यः 60
राजानः 196.
राणायनीयाः 119.
रि [illegible]67.

रु. रू.

रुः 172.
रुक्मकाः 55, 56.
रुविति 139.
रूपम् 104, 122, 128, 144, 145, 204, 205.
रूपग्रहणम् 122.
रूपसिद्धिः 145.

रे.

रेफः 144, 140.
रेफस्य 140, 142
रेफयोः 167.
रेफात् 134.
रेफे 142
रेफोष्मणाम् 142.
रेवत्याम् 66.
रेवती 66.
रेवत् 66.

रो. रौ.

रोः 144, 1[illegible], 1[illegible]
रोमशाः 82.
रौरुकीति 33.
रौतिः 33.

ल.

लुट् 75. -
लुटः 75.
लुडर्थः 74, 75
ऌन्तम् 231.
ऌन्तस्य 230, 231.

ल

ल. 14, 133.
लक्ष्मीः 39.
लक्ष्यः 76.
लक्ष्यते 68, 107, 158.
लक्ष्यम् 76.
लक्षणम् 47, 49, 50, 76, 96, 99, 229.
लक्षणत्वे 64.
लक्षणात् 49
लक्षणे 76.
लघ्वर्थम् 174, 189.
लघ्वी 21.
लघीयसा 170
लघीयान् 46.
लघु 21, 23, 189.
लघुना 23
लघुत्वात् 46.
लघूपधस्य 217, 221.
लघूपधा 221
लघूपधे 212, 213.
लघोः 232, 233.
लङ् 178.
लट् 115.
लण् 164.
लत्वम् 105, 106, 111.
लभ्यम् 84, 85.
लयः 124, 202.
लवनम् 218, 220.
लवनार्थे 65.
लंघिता 154
लंघितुम् 154.
लश्रुतिः 133.

ला, लि, लु.

लाङ्गूलः 16
लादेशः 132.
लादेशे 133
लावकः 218, 220.
लिङ्गम् 83, 97, 98, 184.
लिङ्गैः 22.
लिङ्गेन 185, 188.
लिढि 213.
लुप्तनिर्दिष्टः 231.

लो.

लोक 63, 68.
लोकत 58, 98, 99.
लोकाः 65.
लोकात् 43, 192.
लोके 16, 55, 58, 59, 62, 63, 66, 89, 93, 98, 107, 109, 130, 175, 181, 183, 184, 186, 189, 190, 193, 199
लोपः 41, 84, 113, 114, 127, 128, 142, 154, 158, 161-163, 167, 168, 171, 185, 227.
लोपापवादः 162.
लोपे 128, 162, 163
लोपेन 161.
लोमलकम् 131.

लौ

लौकिक. 54, 108
लौकिकाः 11, 44
लौकिकानाम् 11.
लौकिके 182.
लौकिकेषु 109, 183.

व्

व्यञ्जनम् 8., 147
व्यञ्जननिवृत्त्यर्थम् 205
व्यञ्जननिवृत्त्यर्थेन 95
व्यञ्जनस्य 203, 205–207, 228.
व्यत्ययः 153, 154.
व्यतिरेकः 68.
व्यतिरेक्यः 68.
व्यपदेशिवत् 27
व्यपवर्गः 131.
व्यपवृक्तम् 31.
व्यपवृक्ताः 134
व्यवायपचनम् 141, 42
व्यवहितत्वात् 134
व्यवायात् 100
व्यवाये 134, 135.
व्यवायेन 100.
व्यवहरति 64.
व्यवहारकाले 29.
व्यवहारकालेन 47.
व्याकियन्ते 74, 76.
व्याकरणम् 21-26, 28, 32, 35
7, 41 43, 72, 74, 76.
व्याकरणस्य 72.
व्याकरणात् 73.
व्याकरणे 72, 74, 77, 186, 191
व्याख्यानतः 53, 54, 73, 78, 171,
201.
व्याख्यानम् 73, 78.
व्याख्यास्यामः 53, 171, 201.
व्याचक्षाणाः 183
व्युपधात् 139, 141, 142
व्यूढोरस्केन 148.
व्योः 142.
व्रतम् 60.
व्रतयितुम् 60.

व

वा 66.
वक्ष्यति 88, 94, 115, 156, 160,
210, 224.
वक्ष्यामि 80, 115, 127, 146, 184,
231.
वक्तव्यः 81, 141, 142, 162, 163,
80, 184, 185, 207, 215, 232.
वक्तव्यम् 83, 92, 118, 129, 132,
33, 136, 138, 139, 145,
160, 185, 195, 197, 198,
208, 213, 231, 232.
वक्तव्या 185.
वक्तुम् 137.
वकारः 43, 231.
वकारापाये 150.
वचनम् 93, 195, 233, 234
वचनात् 159, 214, 235.
वचने 23, 89, 91, 92, 127

वचनेन 197
वञ्चिस्वपियजादीनाम् 234.
वत्सः 199.
वदन्ति 35.
वदेत् 32.
वनम् [illegible], 153
वयम् 70, 90, 143.
वर्ज्येन 53.
वर्णः [illegible]1, 86, 126, 153, 154.
वर्णग्रहणेन 134.
वर्णतः 26.
वर्णम् 153, 174.
वर्णयितुम् 54.
वर्णव्यत्ययः 154.
वर्णव्यत्ययकृतम् 155.
वर्णव्यत्यये 146, 154, 155.
वर्णविकारः 154.
वर्णस्य 176
वर्णाः 80, 81, 101, 134, 138, 149, 150, 152 155.
वर्णान्तरम् 125.
वर्णान् 80.
वर्णानुपलब्धौ 150.
वर्णानाम् 79, 80, 105, 155, [illegible]
वर्णापायः 154.
वर्णेन 186.
वर्णेषु 125, 154.
वर्णैः 101.
वर्णैकदेशाः 125, 134.
वर्णोत्पत्तौ 171
वर्णोपजनः 154.
वर्त्मा 6[illegible].
वर्तते 163.
वर्षशतम् 46.
वर्षसहस्रम् 46.
वहति 194.
वहन्ति 113.
वरुण 95, 42.
वलाग्निलक्षणाः 139
वलि 142.
वर्तेते 45, 51, 54, 77, 163, 17[illegible].
वर्तन्ते 77, 155, 156.
वर्णमालाः 33.
वर्षणात् 33.
वसुमती 65.

वा.

वा 24, 25, 29, 30, 33, 35, 39, 41, 44, 49, 58, 60, 61, 79, 90, 92, 94, 99, 104, 1[illegible]5, 109, 110, 115, 116, 118, 120, 125 127, 1[illegible]8, 140, 155, 156, 159, 163-166, 173, 180, 184, 185, 188, 192, 194, 20[illegible], 212, 221, 223, 226, 228.
वाक् 37.
वाक्यपरिसमाप्तिः 196
वाक्यपरिसमाप्तेः 196.
वाक्यपरिभिन्ना 35.
वाक्यम् 212.
वाक्याध्याहारः 73, 78.
वाक्यानि 85, 181.
वाक्यसमाम्नायः 175.
वाकोवाक्यम् 65.
वाग्योगवित् 29, 30.
वाग्वज्रः 26.
वाग्विदे 37.
वाग्विषयः 39, 174.
वाचः 35, 129.

वाचम् 33, 37, 39.
वाचा 129.
वाना 127, 203, 213, 231, 235.
वायवः 215.
वायवे 215.
वायुः 52.
वायुम् 52.
वायो 126, 215.
वार्तमसत्रिकाणि 64.
वारयति 162.
वारुणीम् 24.

वि.

विकीर्यते 131
विक्रेतव्यम् 1[illegible].
विकम्पितः 39.
विकारः 65, 88, 154
विकारकः 21.
विकाराः 85, 86, 164.
विकारि 57.
विकारिभिः 101
विकारेषु 85, 154, 15[illegible]
विकृतम् 113.
विकृतस्य 113
विग्रहः 55, 56, 58
विगृहीतम् 73, 78.
विचार्यते 1[illegible], 125, 140, 145.
विचारणा 125, 126.
विज्ञातुम् 33, 41, 8[illegible], 137, 168
विज्ञानम् 30.
विज्ञायते 141, 162, 179, 180, [illegible], 221
वितथम् 110, 174, 222
विदम 1[illegible]2.
विदधाति 33
विदध्यात् 1[illegible].
विदितः 31
विदुः 31, 35.
विद्या 46.
विद्यात् 123.
विधयः 1[illegible]9, 148, 208, 212.
विधाने 208
विधिः 1[illegible]7, 126, 127, 130, 136, 178, 179, 206.
विधीयते 15, 145.
विधीयन्ते 208
विधेः 96
विधेयः 139.
विधेयम् 59.
विनाशेषु 32.
विप्रतिपन्नबुद्धिभ्यः 43.
विप्रतिषिद्धम् 61.
विप्रतिषेधः 218, 219
विप्रतिषेधात् 220.
विप्रतिषेधे 218.
विप्रतिषेधेन 217, 218.
विप्राप्य [illegible]
विपरिणमयितव्याः 22.
विपरिणमयितुम् 22.
विपरीतम् 39.
विभक्तयः 31, 42.
विभक्तिनिर्देशे 170
विभक्तिभिः 22
विभक्तिषु 31, 32.
विभाषा 161–163, 167, 226.
विभाषायाम् 127.
विवरणम् 88, 91.
विवारभिन्नः 88.
विवृणुते 37

विवृणुयात् 57
विवृतः 87, 90, 92
विवृततरम् 131.
विवृततरे 41.
विवृतस्य 88–90.
विवृतौ 92
विश्वसृज. 109.
विशेष्यते 84, 147.
विशेष्यस्य 188.
विशेषः 53, 54, 67, 90, 92, 10[illegible], 1[illegible]5, 2[illegible]6, 138, 140, 171, 212, [illegible], 228
विशेषणस्य 188.
विशेषयितुम् 221.
विशेषयिष्यामः 147, 221.
विशेषणविशेष्यभावः 189
विशेषणविशेष्ये 189.
विशेषवत् 47.
विशेषप्रतिपत्तिः 201.
विशेषे 29.
विशेषेण 48, 105, 223.
विष्णुमित्र 196.
विषमः 30, 93, 102, 109, 130.
विषयः 65, 105.
विषयार्थम् 234.
विपर्यये 97.
विपर्ययेण 97.
विषाणम् 16.
विसर्जनीयः 143, 146, 147.
विसर्जनीयस्य 146–148.
विसर्जनीयम् 147.
विस्पष्टे 67
विहन्यते 57

वी.

वीतये 11.
वीरपुरुषकाणि 54, 191.

वृ.

वृक्णः 126, 149, 150.
वृत्ताभ्याम् 92.
वृत्तेभ्यः 219.
वृत्तये 79.
वृत्तान्तशः 43.
वृत्तिः 79, 80.
वृद्धः 199.
वृद्धलक्षणः 178.
वृद्ध्यादयः 181.
वृद्ध्यादिषु 183.
वृद्ध्यादीनाम् 181.
वृद्धिः 73, 78, 121, 135, 176–179, 183, 191, 209, 210, 213, 221, 224, 230, 232, 233.
वृद्धिग्रहणम् 223, 224, 229.
वृद्धिग्रहणस्य 223.
वृद्धिगुणसंज्ञयोः 195, 196.
वृद्धिगुणसंज्ञे 195.
वृद्धिगुणौ 212, 213.
वृद्धिनिमित्तम् 180.
वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य 178, 180.
वृद्धिप्रतिषेधानुपपत्तिः 225.
वृद्धिम् 226.
वृद्धियुक्ताः 191.
वृद्धिविधौ 223.

वृद्धिशब्दः 182, 183, 146.
वृद्धिशब्दम् 191.
वृद्धिशब्दस्य 188.
वृद्धिशब्दात् 187.
वृद्धिशब्दे 184.
वृद्धिसंज्ञा 209.
वृद्धेः 180, 224, 226, 229.
वृद्धौ 228.
वृषिः 187.
वृषभः 43

वे

वेणाम् 13 , 131.
वेदः 22, 65, 69.
वेदम् 66.
वेदयते 67.
वेदशब्दाः 69.
वेदशब्देन 69.
वेदात् 43.
वेदान् 21
वेदानाम् 21.
वेदितव्यः 175.
वेदितव्यम् 6
वेदितव्याः 71.
वेद 59, 60, 66, 93, 109, 120,
188.

वै, वं.

वै 60, 61, 68, 185.
वैदिकाः 11, 43
वैदिकानाम् 11.
वैदिके 182
वैदिकेषु 59, 108, 109, 183.
वैयर्थ्यम् 65.
वैयाकरणः 58, 76.
वैयाकरणाः 39, 226
वैरूप्यः 60
वैषम्यात् 173.
वैलक्षण्यात् 115.

श

श्नुः 145.
श्नुना 145.
श्रवणम् 123, 167.
श्रव्यम् 66.
श्रूयते 46, 71, 231.
श्रूयन्ते 143
श्रूयेरन् 85.
शृङ्गम् 33
शृङ्गाणि 33.
शृण्वन् 37.
शृणोति 37.
श्रोत्रम् 102.
श्लोकाः 30.
श्वा 60.
श्वादीनाम् 115.
श्वेतः 85.

श

शक्नोति 22.
शक्यः 97, 168.
शक्यते 137.
शक्यम् 60, 61, 101, 137, 146, 155, 171.
शक्यस 23, 32, 41, 80.
शक्यामि 54.
शकटम् 194.
शकुनयः 101.
शकुनिः 11, 46.
शकुनिवत् 101.
शच्छोऽस्ति 148.
शतम् 83, 152, 196.
शब्दः 6, 11, 16, 25, 26, 44, 49, 51, 54, 58, 63, 66, 70, 71, 73, 74, 76–78, 100, 102, 108, 110–112, 189, 190
शब्दकर्मा 33.
शब्दकारी 16.
शब्दज्ञाने 29, 67.
शब्दप्रयोगे 58.
शब्दपारायणम् 46.
शब्दम् 16, 33, 108.
शब्दस्य 46, 63, 66, 67, 165.
शब्दाः 23, 29, 43, 46, 47, 61, 63, 64, 65–67, 74, 76, 77, 101, 181, 194, 195
शब्दात्मानौ 33.
शब्दान् 26, 29, 43, 58, 59, 63, 67–70, 73, 78.
शब्दानुशासनम् 6, 44.
शब्दानुशासनस्य 20, 25.
शब्दानाम् 11, 46, 47, 61 63, 73, 106, 107, 181.
शब्दार्थः 106.
शब्दे 51, 55, 56, 58, 74, 75, 184.
शब्देन 61, 74.
शब्देषु 101, 194.
शब्दैः 76
शब्दोपदेशः 44, 46.
शब्दोपदेशे 46.
शब्दौघान् 47.
शम् 43.
शर्यणावे 146.
शर्यु 144.
शरणम् 30.
शरः 162.
शल्यकथन 97
शलः 139.
शवः 65
शवतिः 65
शशः 86.

शा.

शाटकान् 103.
शालगुनायनिः 178.
शालमयम् 178.
शालिमाम्नात्रीन् 60.
शालीन् 104.
शालीयः 178.
शास्त्रपूर्वकम् 69.
शास्त्रपूर्वके 69.
शास्त्रम् 6, 43, 79, 107, 108, 195.

18

शास्त्राणि 54, 191.
शास्ति 89, 122, 127, 162, 2?3, 233.
शास्त्रविदः 62.
शास्त्रान्वितः 66.
शास्त्रे 186
शास्त्रेण 58, 62, 64.
शास्त्रीयस्य 54, 191.

शि, शी.

शिखी 98, 199.
शिष्टः 108.
शिष्टस्य 109.
शिरसि 33.
शिवादिभ्यः 97.
शीतम् 199.
शीर्षे 33.

शु

शुक्लम् 119, 229.
शुक्लः 16, 77, 200.
शुक्रम् 200.
शुक्लाम् 181.
शुचौ 186.
शुद्धः 207.
शुद्धा [illegible]
शुद्धानि 86.
शुष्केधः 28.

शै, शो.

शैली 158.
शोभनाम् 42.

ष, ष.

षन् 96, 129.
षडङ्गः 22.
षडङ्गेषु 22.
षडपूपाः 181.
षत्वम् 144, 146, 147.
षष्ठ्यर्थे 72, 77.
षष्ठ्यधिकारम् 235.
षष्ठ्यधिकारे 235.
षष्ठ्याः 233.
षष्ठी 113, 114, 188, 21?, 214, 221.
षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टस्य 114, 188.
षष्ठीसमासः 221.
षण्णः 86.

स.

स्त्रीवत् 32.
स्त्रीषु 32, 60.
स्तः 93, 119, 172, 173.
स्तम्बम् 110.
स्तवः 124, 202.
स्तोः 145.
स्थलम् 194.
स्थले 194

स्थानम् 94.
स्थानकरणे 43.
स्थानतः 94.
स्थानषष्ठी 213, 214.
स्थानिनः 219.
स्थानिनाम् 121, 124, 201.
स्थानिनिर्देशार्थम् 223.
स्थानिनौ 219.
स्थानिवद्भावः 147.
स्थानिवद्भावस्य 148.
स्थानिवद्भावात् 128, 148.
स्थानी 98, 219, 221, 223.
स्थाने 94, 167.
स्थानेयोगत्वात् [illegible].
स्थानेषु [illegible]
स्थूलपृषती 24.
स्थूला 24.
स्थूलानि 24.
स्नातानुलिप्तः 110.
स्निहित्वा 139.
स्नेहित्वा 139.
स्पर्शनम् 99.
स्पृष्ट 131.
स्फ्यः 183.
स्फैयकृतस्य 181.
स्फोटमात्रम् 133.
स्म 43, 186.
स्यात् 30, 44, 47, 49, 53, 54, 60, 62, 68, 75, 83, 84, 88, 89, 91, 92, 97, 98, 101, 109, 110, 112, 118, 122, 124–126, 128, 129, 132, 135, 138, 139, 144, 146, 150, 155, 157, 160, 176, 181, 187, 189, 192, 197–202, 204, 205, 212, 216–218, 220, 222, 224, 227, 232–234.
स्याताम् 94, 119, 172, 208, 219.
स्याम 33, 42.
स्युः 54, 61, 101, 102, 106, 139, 159, 163, 188, 191.
स्रुघ्ने 100.
स्वभावतः 185.
स्वयम् 185.
स्वर्गाम् 30.
स्वर्गौ 66, 175.
स्वर्णयति 140.
स्वपिहि 139.
स्वम् 199.
स्वरः 86.
स्वरतः 24, 26.
स्वरशः 33.
स्वरस्य 198.
स्वरितस्य 198.
स्वरिताः 106.
स्वरितादेः 200.
स्वरितान्तात् 200.
स्वरूपम् 44.
स्वस्तिकाः 56.
स्वात्मानम् 37.
स्वादि 152.
स्वाध्यायकालेन 47.
स्वाभाविकम् 155.

सः 16, 29, 30, 33, 46, 69, 71, 80, 90, 92, 105, 107, 109, 110, 115, 122, 124, 12[illegible], 138, 149, 151, 15[illegible], 161, 163, 167, 168, 170, 17[illegible], 177, 180, 189, 202, 206, 208, 214–217, 219, 222, 224.
सक्तुः 39.
सक्तुम् 25, 39.
सक्थनि 192.
सक्थि 200.
सककारेण 149, 150.
सकारः 147.
सकारस्य 147, 156.
सकारोपजने 149.
सकृत् 138.
सख्यानि 39.
सखायः 39.
सगृह्ये 49.
सचेतः 39.
सत्र 137.
सत्राणि 100.
सत्येन्द्रा 42.
सत्येन्द्राः 42.
सत्यभामा 52.
सत्यम् 88.
सत्याम् 228.
सत्त्वम् 148.
सत्त्वेन 45.
सतः 93, 190, 193.
सताम् 193, 194.
सति 46, 92, 122, 161, 170, 179, 197, 219, 222, 226.
सत् 115.
सन्तः 39.
सन्तापयति 61.
सन्ति 52, 61, 63, 93, 97, 108, 142, 164–167, 173, 205.
सन्तु 118, 171, 173.
सन्देहः 24, 163–166, 169, 189, 201.
सन्देहमात्रम् 201.
सन्देहाः 76.
सन्देहात् 53, 54, 171, 201.
सन्देहेषु 91.
सन्निपाते 11[illegible].
सन्निवेशः 80.
सप्त 3[illegible], 1[illegible], 66.
सप्तदश 98, 130.
सप्तदशात्वम् 98.
सप्तद्वीपा 65.
सप्रत्ययः 16.
सम्बन्धम् 209.
सम्बन्धे [illegible], 55.
सम्यक् 2[illegible], 66.
समर्थः 152.
समर्थम् 152.
समर्थाः 152.
समवस्थानम् 91.
समवस्थितयोः 219.
समवायः 79, 80.
समासः 60, 126.
समानपदे 133, 134, 138.
समानम् 155.
समानाकृतयः 125.
समानाक्षरे 189.
समानायाम् 61.
समाने 108.

समाम्नायिकयोः 91.
समाम्नायिकस्य 90.
समाम्नायिकेन 91, 92.
समाम्नाये 95.
समाहारवर्णौ 118.
समासान्तोदात्तत्वम् 24.
समिद्धः 130.
समुद्रः 145.
समुद्रता 145.
समुदायाः 126, 252.
समुदायानाम् 83, 84.
समुदाये 76, 77, 126, 196.
समुदायेषु 77.
समुदितम् 73, 76, 78.
समुदायस्य 126.
सम्यंञ्चा 93, 137.
सर्पि षु 46.
सर्पींषि 46.
सर्व 8, 92, 78, 179.
सर्वकारकः 179.
सर्वत्र 57, 214, 101, 195, 221, 223.
सर्वथा 46.
सर्वभासः 178, 179.
सर्वम् 81, 103, 178, 179.
सर्वत्रपुण्यफलावाप्तिः 175.
सर्वस्य 128.
सर्वमन्त्रेषु 201.
सर्वादेशः 213, 214.
सर्वादेशप्रसङ्गः 213, 214.
सर्वाभिः 22.
सर्वे 64, 76, 99, 138.
सर्वेषाम् 130, 233, 234, 235.
सर्वैः 22, 155.
सर्वयाः 131.
सरन् 173.
सरः 173.
सरहस्याः 65.
सरूपाणाम् 48.
सवर्णम्य 93, 137, 160.
सवकारेण 150.
सवर्णः 87, 88, 90, 91, 94, 1
सवर्णम् 88, 91.
सवर्णस्य 119.
सवर्णाः 142.
सवर्णान् 103, 137.
सवर्णानाम् 94, 197.
सवर्णार्थम् 197.
सवर्णे 56, 91, 103, 122, 126, 162, 169.
सस्थानत्वात् 119.
सस्थानतरौ 119.
सविभक्तिकाः 32.
सह 56, 126, 196.
सहग्रहणम् 196, 197.
सहभूतानाम् 196, 197.
सहवचनात् 191.
सहत्वम् 65, 99.

सा.

सा 16, 24, 42, 83, 115, 183, 224, 227, 229.
सात्यमुग्रिः 119.
साध्यः 52.
साध्यम् 226.
साध्ये 226.
साङ्गाः 65.
साध्वनुशासने 186.

साधवः 61.
साधीयः 68, 150, 156.
साधुः 62, 107, 109, 195.
साधुत्वम् 61, 83, 84, 186, 187.
सानुनासिकाः 93.
साम्यम् 3
सामर्थ्यात् 1, 1, 164, 166,
169, 204, 208.
सामवेदः 65.
सामान्यम् 47
सामान्यभूतम् 1
सामान्यात् 104.
सामान्येन 48.
सामानाधिकरण्यम् 168.
सामिधेन्यः 98, 130.
सार्वधातुकम् 221.
सार्वधातुकस्य 234, 235.
सार्वधातुके 215.
सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोः 15 217
सारस्वतीम् 25, 41.
सावकाशयोः 219.
सास्ना 16

सि.

सिकता
सिकता 2, 154.
सिचि 183, 227, 229, 230, 232.
सिजर्थम् 227, 229
सिद्धः 51, 52, 144, 148, 184.
सिद्धत्वम् 160.
सिद्धत्वात् 106.
सिद्धम् 51, 81, 84, 95, 97–99,
3, 4, 6, 119, 122,
128, 132–134, 140, 144–148,
160, 194, 19, 204, 205,
2 2, 225, 235.
सिद्धशब्दः 52, 54.
सिद्धशब्दम् 4.
सिद्धशब्दस्य 51.
सिद्धा 3, 51.
सिद्धार्थाः 4.
सिद्धे 51, 55, 56, 58, 122, 170,
6, 222
सिध्यति 84, 115, 117, 134, 136,
185, 206.
सिध्यन्ति 106.
सिन्धवः 42.
सिंहः 154.
सिस्निहिषति 139.
सिस्नेहिषति 139.

सु

सुकृतः 215.
सुकृते 1
सुकृतौ 21
सुजाते 1 9, 229
सुतम् 1, 29
सुदव 4
सुप्रयुक्तः 66.
सुपा 1 6.
सुब्भावः 153
सुब्लोपम् 152
सुबुत्पत्तिः 153.
सुराम् 30, 109.
सुराद्भ्युः 65.
सुवर्णम् 55, 56.
सुवासाः 37.
सुश्रुत् 215.
सुषिराम् 42
सुष्ठुमा 177.
सुहृत् 43.

सू.

सूकरः 59.
सूत्रम् 78.
सूत्रकम् 194.
सूत्रतः 74, 78.
सूत्रम् 72, 75, 77, 185.
सूत्रभेदेन 115.
सूत्रात् 72.
सूत्राणि 48, 75, 76, 177, 186.
सूत्रे 72, 74, 77.
सूत्रेण 74, 186.
सूत्रान्ते 119.
सूप. 51, 149, 155.
सूपस्य 155, 156.
सूपार्थः 149, 155, 156.
सूपे 149, 155, 156.
सूर्य्यम् 42.

सो, सौ.

सोमसुत् 215.
सोमसुतः 215.
सोमसुते 215.
सौश्रुतः 215.

सं.

सङ्करः 95, 97.
सङ्ख्यानात् 98.
सङ्ग्रहे 52.
सङ्घातः 151, 152, 155.
सङ्घातस्य 153.
सङ्घाताः 152.
सङ्घातान्तराणि 155, 156.
सङ्घातार्थवत्वात् 156.
सङ्क्रमे 226.
सङ्ख्यातानुदेशः 173.
सन्ध्यक्षरस्य 228.
संज्ञातासु 71.
संज्ञया 193, 194, 208.
संज्ञा 83, 86, 97, 98, 112, 174, 181, 185, 189, 192, 194.
संज्ञाकरणम् 189.
संज्ञादिषु 107.
संज्ञाधिकारः 181, 182, 185, 192.
संज्ञाधिकारे 181–183.
संज्ञाभावात् 193.
संज्ञाम् 183.
संज्ञायाः 196.
संज्ञायाम् 97.
संज्ञालिङ्गम् 185.
संज्ञाविधौ 124.
संज्ञाश्रये 193.
संज्ञासंज्ञिनोः 182, 184, 186, 188.
संज्ञायाः 185.
संज्ञासंज्ञिनौ 186, 189.
संज्ञासंप्रत्ययार्थः 181, 186.
संज्ञासिद्धिः 182.
संज्ञी 182, 183, 189–191.
संज्ञिनः 182–184, 190, 193.
संज्ञिनम् 185.
संज्ञिनि 193.
सन्दिग्धम् 163.

सन्धिः 116, 117.
सन्ध्यक्षरानिवृत्त्यर्थम् 203.
सन्ध्यक्षरनिवृत्त्यर्थेन 204.
सन्ध्यक्षरम् 208.
सन्ध्यक्षरत्वं 203, 204, 206.
सन्ध्यक्षरे 126
सन्ध्यक्षरेषु 31
सम्प्रत्ययः 192, 193
सम्प्राप्ति 192, 193.
सम्प्रत्ययार्थः 182.
सम्प्रसारणस्य 122.
सम्पन्नाः 99.
सम्भवः 210
सम्भवति 99.
सम्बन्ध. 58.
सम्बन्धे 51, 55, 56, 58.
संसृज्य 170.
संयोग. 147, 163.
संयोगसंज्ञा 147.
संयोगादयः 144.
संयोगे 136, 147.
संयोगोत्पत्तौ 129.
संवृतः 82, 85, 90, 92, 93.
संवृतता 89.
संवृतस्य 88, 90.
संवृतादीनाम् 84.
संवृते 183
संवृतौ 92, 93
संस्कारोत्तरकालम् 43
संस्कृत्य 187.
संवृतादीनाम् 81.

ह्र.

ह्रस्वः 117, 126, 159, 164, 167.
ह्रस्वस्य 115, 126, 215.
ह्रस्वात् 172.
ह्रस्वयोः 216, 221.
ह्रस्वादीनाम् 159.
ह्रस्वादेशशासनेषु 118.
ह्रस्वादेशे 118.
ह्रस्वाद्यौ 215.
ह्रस्वादयः 126, 127.

ह.

ह 25.
हकारः 138.
हकारग्रहणम् 139
हकारे 138, 139
हग्रहणम् 138
हनः 109, 154.
हन्ति 109.
हन्यात् 10, 109
हस्मतिः 65.
हयवरट् 138.
हर्ता 163.
हर्षे 166, 235.
हर्यश्वस 167.
हरयवट् 140.
हल् 103.
हल्सु 158.
हलः 122, 147, 158, 161, 167, 171.

हलन्तलक्षणा 228, 229.
हलन्तस्य 230.
हलन्तलक्षणायाः 230.
हलादिः 139, 232.
हशि 139.
हस्तौ 11, 46.
हस्तासः 33.
हसति 109, 139.
हसितम् 70.
हसेत् 109.
हि 21, 29, 41, 46, 48, 53, 55, 61, 65, 67, 68, 70, 71, 73, 74, 78, 80, 81, 88, 89, 91, 93, 94, 97, 100, 105, 109, 110, 112, 114, 119, 120, 126, 128, 130, 138, 150, 153, 155, 156, 158, 162, 164-169, 171, 172, 181, 182, 184, 186, 189-193, 198-201, 206, 208, 213, 214, 218, 219, 229.
हिक्कति 109.
हिक्कितम् 70.
हिक्केत् 109.
हिनस्ति 30.
हिंसेः 154.
हिरण्येन 196.

हे, हो.

हे 215.
हेतवः 85.
हेतुः 155.
हेऽलयः 25, 27.
होतृ 115.
होतृकारः 115.

INDEX OF IMPORTANT EXPRESSIONS

A

Abhivādana 32
Ābhyantraprayatna 88, 91.
Ādhāna 32.
Agnihôtra 41
Aintiranûlār 2.
Akṣara samāmnāya 175
Amarakôśa 7.
Ambiguous 82.
Annambhaṭṭa 43, 57, 65
Aṅgas 65.
Apaśabdas 12.
Apostate 110.
Arthavāda 26.
Asiddhaprakaraṇa 145.
Astronomy 23
Asuras 25.
Atharvavēda 13–15.
Augment 85, 153, 154.

B

Bahuvrihi 24.
Bhartṛhari 4, 7, 18, 43, 63.
Bhaṭṭōji Dīkṣit 7, 179.
Birth 57.
Bōdhyāyana Dharmasūtra 59.
Bôdhāyana Gṛhyasûtra 110.
Brahmā 9.
Brāhmaṇa 36.
Brahmavidyā 15.
Brahmayajña 13.

C

Causal 80.
Cēṇāvaraiyar 2.
Chakravarti P. C. 50.
Correctively 196.
Commentary 73, 201
Contradictory 62.
Counter-example 73.
Current 61, 63.

D

Darśapurṇamāsa 32.
Demerit 67, 70
Descriptive grammar 21
Destruction 57
Dharma 50
Dharmaśāstras 41
Dharmasutrakāras 42
Dharmasutras 13, 38, 42.
Dhatupāṭha 11.
Dhvani 49.
Differentiating capacity 198, 199.
Differentiating element 198–200.
Doubling 161–163.
Dravidian languages 121.
Durgācārya 40.
Dvandva Compound 222.
Dvitīyā 5.

E

Ellipsis 21, 128, 129, 142, 153, 154, 158, 162, 163, 167.
Example 73
Existence 57.

Filling-up the ellipsis 73.
Flow of words 106.
Form 63.
Frog-leap 209, 211.

G

Gautama 10.
Genus 49, 55, 56, 81
Gingelly seed 152.
Gold 56.
Grammar 1.
Grammatical treatise by Indra 1
Growth 57.

Hanūmān 1.
Harsh 82.
Historical grammar 21
History 65.
Holder of books 194

Ideas 65
Inaudible 82.
Indian Historical Quarterly 59
Injunction 59.
Individuality 17, 49, 55, 81, 196
Interdependence 193.
Intervocalic 151
It-ness 57

Jaiminiya sūtra 1[illegible]2.
Jñāpaka 3, 91, 97, 127, 129, 204, 205, 207, 232

K

Kadalī vivāha 110
Kaiyaṭa 7, 8, 12, 16–20, 24, 31, 45, 50, 59, 88, 160
Kalpa 38, 44
Kambōja 66.
Kāmya karma 20, 23
Karma 130, 131
Kārya 49, 52, 58
Kātyāyana Prātiśākhya 120
Kudala D. 15.

L

Laghumañjūṣā 86
Laukika incident 50, 60
Laukika śabdas 11–13.
Laukika words 44, 176
Lengthened 82
Literature 1.

M

MacDonell 121
Made-cases for the performance of rituals 23
Madhyamā 17
Māgha 6
Manana 71
Mangarammeru 20.
Maṇḍala 8, 9, 11, 54, 55, 101
Maṇḍalapatha 5
Māheśvara sūtras 79, 91, 92, 95, 126, 157
Man[illegible] 35.
Mār[illegible] 7
Mantra 36
Manyness 184
Marakkal 152
Mātṛkākṣara 79.
Meet-able 60.
Merit 67, 70, 71.
Metanalysis 143.
Metathesis 153, 154.
Mlēccha 25.
Modification 22
Mōkṣa 40.
Morphology 187.
Mud 56.
Mu[illegible]akōpaniṣad 15.

N

Nā[illegible] 69
Nāgeśabhaṭṭa 4, 7, 12, 18, 19, 22, 24, 34, 36, 40, 47, 49, 52, 57, 85, 180
Nairuktas 30
Nasalisation 148, 199
Nipāta 44, 46
Nirukta 28, 34–36, 38, 40, 43
Nitya 4[illegible] 58
Nitya karma 20, 23, 64
Niṣēdha 220
N[illegible] 135
N[illegible] II. 38
Non-grammarian 22, 29, 30.
Non-meetable 60
Non-use 64
Northerners 60
Not ekar 82
Nyāya 114, 196, 197

O

Officiating priest 27
Oneness 184

P

P[illegible]ā 120
Para 17
Paramāṇāntvatā 57
Paspaśā 56
Paspaśāhnika 6–56
Paśyanti 17
Philologists 121
Phonetics 23
Phonology 187.
Pluta 26
Pradīpa 46, 57.
Pradīpikā 43, 46, 53, 149, 152, 160, 174.
Pradhvaṁsāntyatā 57.
Prakṛti 76.
Prakṛti-bhava 26

Praṇava 131.
Prātiśākhyas 121.
Pratyāhāra 117, 119.
Prayājas 32.
Prayōjanas 23.
Prohibition 163.
Prolonged 82.
Prosody 23.
Pravṛttinimitta 108
Puṇyarāja 4
Purāṇas 65.

R

Rahasyam 65.
Reduction 57
Repetition 234.
Restriction 60, 61.
Ṛgvēda 13, 15, 36, 38, 40, 43, 65
Ṛk 36
Ṛtukāla 36

S

Śabdakaustubha 7, 86.
Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa 143.
Sacrificer 27
Saḍdarśanasaṅgraha 77.
Sāman 36
Sāmavēda 13-15, 65
Sāmavēda Gṛhyapariśiṣṭa 110.
Sāmavēdins 119.
Saṃsargānityatā 57.
Saṅgraha 1, 49.
Śānti 5.
Śatapatham 188.
Sāyaṇācārya 34, 38, 43.
Shaking 82.
Shape 56, 104.
Shortened 82.
Ślōkas 30
Ślōkavārttikakāra 174.
Smṛti 60
Speech-thunderbolt 27.
Sphōṭa 49.
Śruti 60
Stability 57.
Siddhāntakaumudī 7.
Southern India 89.
Śravaṇa 71
Substitution 153, 154
Song 82.
Surāṣṭra 66.
Svara 13, 24, 66.

T

Taittirīya Prātiśākhya 120.
Tamil language 89.
Tattva 57.
Tatpuruṣa compound 124, 125, 151, 202.
Tolkāppiyam 2.
Transformation 57.
Trayōdaśī 5.

U

Udātta 24
Uddyota 7, 57, 65, 183, 191, 210.
Uddyōtana 43, 64, 86, 90.
Upanayana 44.
Upaniṣads 65.
Upasarga 14, 16
Upōdghāta 86.

V

Vāidika incident 50, 60.
Vāidikaśabdas 11-13.
Vāidika words 176.
Vāikharī 17, 18.
Vākyapadīya 4, 18.
Varṇa 26.
Vararuci 3.
Vēdanta bhāṣyas 5.
Vēdic interpretation 23.
Vēdic rituals 60.
Viparītavyāvṛtti 76.
Viṣaya 11.
Vivaraṇabhāṣya 10.
Vowel-laws 106.
Vyāḍi 1, 3, 49.
Vyākṛti 76.
Vyakti 49.
Vyāsas 5.
Vyavahāra 182.

W

Well-sinker 71.
Whey 61.

Y

Yajamānas 32.
Yajurvēda 13-15, 22, 65.
Yajus 36.
Yōgasūtra 5.
Yōgavāha 143.
Yōgavibhāga 225.